Here begynneth the booke whyche is cal-
led the body of polycye. And it speketh
of vertues and of good maners / and
the sayd boke is deuyded in thre par
tyes. The fyrst party is adressed to
prynces. The seconde to knyghtes
and nobles: and the thyrde to the
vnyuersal people. The
fyrste chapytre speketh of
the dyscrypcyon of the
Body of polycye.

2114-14

¶ Here begynneth the table of this ꝑsent boke.

¶ Tabula.

¶ Of the fyrst parte of this boke whyche is addressed to ꝑynces

¶ And the fyrst chapytre speketh of the dyscrypcyon of the body of polycye. Capitulo. i.

¶ Of vertuous policye. Capitulo. ii.

¶ Howe a man sholde nourysshe the chyldren of ꝑynces / at theyr begynnynge. Ca. iii.

¶ To what maner of men ought to be gyuen the gouernaunce of the chyldren of ꝑynces. Ca. iiii.

¶ The exhortacyons that men sholde make to the chyldren of ꝑynces. Capitulo. v.

¶ What the ponge ꝑynce ought to doo whan he begynneth to gouerne. Ca. vi.

¶ Of the ladde aduyse that is conuenable for a ponge ꝑynce for to haue. Ca. vii.

¶ Of the ordynaunces & the lawe that a good ꝑynce ought to holde. Ca. viii.

¶ Howe that a good ꝑynce ought to be resembled too a good shepeherde. Ca. ix.

¶ Of the loue that the good ꝑynce ought to haue to his subiectes. Capitulo. x.

¶ Ensample of auncyent dedes to the purpose aboue sayd. Capitulo. xi.

¶ The cause why Valere is so gretely alleged in this booke. Capitulo. ¶ rii.
¶ Of the liberalyte in prynces/ and ensample of the Romayns. Capitulo. ¶ riii.
¶ Of the humayne pyte in a pryncr. Capitulo. riiii.
¶ Of meknes and debonayrete. Capitulo. ¶ rv.
¶ yet of debonayrete and howe that fortune maye chaunge. Capitulo. ¶ rvi.
¶ Howe a pryncr sholde not be prowde thoughe fortune fauoure hym neuer so moche. Capitulo. ¶ rvii.
¶ Howe the good pryncr ought to loue Justyce. Ca. ¶ rviii.
¶ What maner counsayllours a pryncr sholde take. Ca. ¶ rix.
¶ Howe a good pryncr notwithstondynge that he be debonayre and meke ought to be dredde and doubted. Capitulo. ¶ rx.
¶ Howe the good pryncr sholde vse the counsayle of the wyse men. Capitulo. ¶ rxi.
¶ Howe the good pryncr ought to take hede vpon the rebuke of his officers. Capitulo. ¶ rxii.
¶ The goodnes that falleth to a pryncr/ to byleue the counsayle of wyse men. Capitulo. ¶ rxiii.
¶ Howe the olde wyse men were gouerned by Philosophys. Capitulo. ¶ rxiiii.
¶ Howe it longeth to a pryncr for too be wyse and prudente in eloquence. Capitulo. ¶ rxv.
¶ Howe it is a conuenable thynge to a pryncr to behaue hymselfe goodly. Capitulo. ¶ rxvi.
¶ Howe euery good pryncr ought to be dylygente too occuppe hymselfe in the necessytees of his londe or royalme. Ca. ¶ rxvii.
¶ Howe the good pryncr ought to loue and worshyp his knyghtes and his gentyles. Capitulo. ¶ rxviii.

¶ Howe the good prynce ought to flee Lechery. Capitulo. xxix.
¶ Howe the good prynce sholde kepe hymselfe frome angre. Capitulo. xxx.
¶ Howe it is leefull that the good prynce after his grete labou re for to take recreacyon of some dysporte. Ca. xxxi.
¶ Howe the good prynce whiche vnderstondeth hymselfe that he dothe his deuoyre in all vertues ought reasonably to desyre laude and glory. Ca. xxxii.

¶ Of the seconde parte of this booke whiche is adressed to the nobles and worthy men.

¶ And the fyrste chappytre speketh howe the nobles and wor thy men occupye the place of the armes and the hondes of the body of Noyre. Capitulo. xxxiii.
¶ Howe the noble auncyente men dyde enduce theyr chyldren. Capitulo. xxxiiii.
¶ Ensample of that that foloweth after of the doctryne that the auncyentes gaue vnto theyr chyldren. Ca. xxxv.
¶ Hewe ỳ olde auncyentes auaunced the ponge men that they had taught and lerned. Ca. xxxvi.
¶ Howe amonge other thynges Syre good condyeyons ben necessary to the nobles and worthy knyghtes. And of the fyrst. Capitulo. xxxvii.
¶ Of the fyrst good condyeyon. Capitulo. xxxviii.
¶ Of the seconde good condyeyon. Capitulo. xxxix.
¶ yet more of the same and ensample of the Romaynes.
¶ Of the thyrde good condyeyon that knyghtes and cheue taynes ought to haue in armes. Ca. xl.
¶ yet more of the same and ensample of the Romaynes. xl

¶ Exemple of worthy knyghtes. Capitulo. xlvi.
¶ The fyfte good condycyon that a worthy man sholde haue xlviii.
Capitulo.
¶ yet of the same and howe men worshypped in olde tyme the worshypfull knyghtes after they; deseruynge.
¶ howe Lechery and delytes ben often tymes the cause for to dyssturble a man that he may ye not gete worshyppe and hal-
wmes. Capitulo. xlviii.
¶ howe the auncyentes guerdoned the good dedes of wor-
thy men after they; deseruynge and not after fauoure. And al
so of the honoures and worshyppes that they dyde vnto them.
Capitulo. xlix.
¶ Of the syxte good condycyon that ỹ worthy man of armes
ought to haue. &c. l.
¶ Of the wyse counsayle in armes that knyghtes sholde vse.
Capitulo. lvii.
¶ yet ensample of the wyse cautayles in armes.

¶ Of the thyrde parte of this booke / whiche is ayrelled to the
vnyuersall people.

¶ The fyrste chaptre speketh howe that all maners of estates
ought to be gadred as one. &c. lviii.
¶ Of the dyfference of dyuers people. &c. lxiv.
¶ The obeysaunce that the people ought to haue to they; pryn-
ce. Capitulo. l.
¶ Of the thre estates of the people / and fyrst of the Clerkes ỹ
dysputeth in sepences. &c. li.
¶ Of the seconde estate of the people / that is to say of bourgey
ses and of marchaunties. &c. lii.

¶ Howe the boyle burgeyses shalbe counsayle the symple peo
ple in that they shalbe do. Ca. lxii.
¶ Of marchaunttes. Capitulo. lxiii.
¶ Of the thyrde estate of the people. Ca. lxv.
¶ Of symple labourers. Capitulo. lxvi.
¶ The conclusyon of this boke. Capitulo. lxvii.

¶ Here endeth the table.

¶ Here begynneth the fyrste chapytre the whiche speketh of the dyuersyfycacion of the body of polycye. Capitulo. primo.

If it be possyble that of vyces myght growe vertue / it wyll please me well in this partye to be possyoned as a woman lyke as many men haue ben opynyon that nature of woman cannot kepe vnder scylence the abundaunce of hyr corage: Now come hardely / shewe out by many fyere ryuers and crystall sprynges / and by the vnstauchable fountaynes of my courage / whiche can nat hyde for to cast out the delytes of vertue: O vertue a thynge noble and deyfyed how dare I be so bolde / auaunte my selfe to speke of the whiche I knowe right well that myne vnderstandyng can nat quyckely comprehende ne vnderstande clerely ne declare: But oure thyng recomforteth me and gyueth me hardynes that I vnderstande the so benygne / that thou wyll nat be dysplesyd thoughe I speke of the / nat oonly in thy moste subtyll thynges / but only in such thynges as may be comprehende in my conceyte: Wherfore I shall make a remembraunce of the modyfyeng of good vertues: And fyrste for to speke of the lernynge and rule for to lyue after our betters: That is to know after the prynces of the whiche thynge I beseche most lowly theyr hygh magestie that they take no dysdeyne of so symple a wyt as myne is / and that so symple a creature dare take vpon for to speke of y rule of so hygh estate / but that it wolde please them to wythholde y techynge of y Philosopher whiche sayth / haue no dysdeygne of the lytel nesse / though thou be neuer so great / and specially on hym that speketh good wordes: And so hereafter I truste to speke meanly by the grace of god of the myrr of lyuynge of noble prynces a knyght / and in the thyrde parte of all other people / the whiche that gouernes of reason ought to be in polycye

and after the symylytude of one body that is goyenge after the
sentence of the honourable man that is named Plutarque
whiche in a pystell that he sente to Traian the Emperour as
an open thynge to a body þ hath lyfe / of the whiche the prynce
or the prynces holden the hyghest place of the hedde for as moche
as they shuld and ought to be soueraynes / and of them shuld
come the lynguler establysshynges in lyke wyse as out of the
vnderstandynge of men spryngen and comen the forsayne wer
kes that the membres accheuen. The knyghtes & the nobles
holden the place of þ handes & the armes / For lyke as the ar-
mes of a man ben stronge to mayntayne labour and payne so
they ought to haue the charge to defende the right of þ prynce
and the comen wele / And they also ben compared to the han-
des / for lyke as the handes put away the thynges that noyen
suche wyse they shuld put away all thynges that ben cuyll &
vnprofytable. The thyrde maner of the people ben lyken yd to
the bely / to the fete / and to the legges. For lyke as the body re-
ceyueth in hym all thynge that conforte the hed and the mem
bres / in lyke wyse the excercyse of prynces and nobles ought re-
tourne to the comen wele lyke as it shall be more playnely de-
clared hereafter. And lyke as the legges and fete bere vp the
weyght of a mannes body in lyke wyse the labourers sustayne
all other estates. ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς ς

Here after it spedeth of vertuous lyuynge. Ca. ii.

Now we haue for to treate of vertue and profyte of
the ordre of lyuynge of þ thre estates / by þ whiche is yd
vertuous. The lyfe of man ought to be exercysed in all maner of
werkes / without whiche no man may acheyue to honour / for
it is the ryghte degree to worshyp as valere sayth / And yet he
sayth more that worshyp is the moste plentuous possessyon

of vertue/ And to this purpose Arystotyll sayth that to honour
longeth dewe reuerence in wytnessyng of vertue/ þ is to say now
that worshyp ought nat to be gyuen to none but to them þ be
vertuous. For he sayth nat þ it should be gyuen to þ myghty
folkes ne to the ryche. but to them that be vertuous. For after
his opynyon the good men should be worshypped alway/ For
there is no thyng so moche desyred in noble hertes as is wor-
shyp/ lyke as he sayth hym selfe in his booke of Ethiques in þ
fourth boke/ that myght & ryches be nat desyred but only for
worshyp. Then it is tre we that to kyngs and great pryncys syn
gulerly belongeth worshyp & so by consequent vertue. Now
we muste dyssynge þ partyes that we vnderstande for vertue/
For seynt Austen sayth in his booke of the Cyte of god in the
xx chapter/ whiche declareth in this maner. And sayth þ Phy
losophers say þ vertue is þ ende of good & cuyll of mā kynde.
That is to say þ þ felycite of man kynde is for to be vertuous
Nowe it is so than/ that in felycyte there ought to be great dy
lectacion/ or elles it were no felycyte. And of this toy & felycyte
the auncyent Phylosophers made paynt a fygure & an yma
ge vnder this fourme/ it was made in þ lykenes of a fayre &
amyable quene sytt yng in a ryall cheyre vpon þ erth. And
about her were .vii. vertuous lokyng in her vysage as who
sayth for to obey her cōmaūdemēt/ & for to obey & obserue her.
Then she cōmaūded to prudence þ she shuld enquere dyly gē
ly how she myght reygne lōge & to be sheele & in sewre estate.
Then she cōmaūded to Justyce þ she shuld do all thyng þ she
ought & kepe þ lawes to þ entent þ the peas were kept/ After
that she cōmaūded to strength þ if any sorowe came to her bo
dy that she shuld make it in resysstynge & vertuous thought
Then she cōmaunded to attemperaunce that she shulde take
wyne & meate & other delectable thyng/ so attemprely þ what
thynge þ she toke it should be by reason & nat to her anoyaūce

And soby this present wrytyng a man may vnderstãde that for to be vertuous is none other thyng but to haue in hym self all maner thyngs that may drawe a man to wele/and to with drawe all thynges that lowneth to euyll and to vyces: Then it is necessary for gouernaunce of the polycy publyke that the hed be hole/that is to saye vertuous: For and the hed be sycke all the body shall feele it. Nowe we wyll begynne to tell of the medycyne for the hed/that is to knowe of the kynge or of the prynces: And lyke as our werke begynneth at ỳ hed. We wyll take the fyrste hed of the age: that is to saye the chyldhode of the prynce whyche is norysshed vnder the rule of his frendes:

¶ Here after is declaryd how a man shuld norysshe the chyldren of prynces at they: begynnynge. Ca. .iii.

For bycause it is cómaunded vs expressely for to loue god: therfore we muste fyrste introduce [illegible] prynce at the begynnynge of [illegible] lyeth for to lerne [illegible] wyttes [illegible] thynges that ben accustomed in [illegible] ryght harde to be lefte: And for men shuld vnderstande ỳ suche thynge is agreable to god the psalme sayth that in the mowthe of infauntes and soukers: our lorde hath made his laude/that is to saye he is agreable therto: And so furthermore as he wareth in age he shuld be taught letters & scripture suche wyse as our lord may be preysed lyke as it is accustomed in Fraunce to teche the ponge prynce better than in other places for ther maste euery day & say they: matyns/ Also there must be purueyed for hym a mayster that must be wyse and redy and more in good maners than in scyence/ for nature thynge that somtyme the chyldren of prynces were taught [illegible] as it is wryten of Philyp kyng of

Macedoyne fader to the great Alysaunder, whyche was
Aristotyll that he was glad that he had a sone borne. As
he had greter ioy that he was borne this tyme to that entent
that he myght teche hym and enforme hym, whyche happyd
for to falle so after warde. For Arystotyll was mayster to the
great Alysaunder. Nevertheles for as moche now in this ty-
me as the pryncs be nat so coustrouse now a dayes to be lernyd
as the seyens, whyche and it pleasyd god I wolde that it were
vsed now as it was wont to be. Wherfore me semeth that it is
beste to gete them a mayster that is a good man and a discre
te of he in wysdome & in nurture and louyng to god, though
so be that he be nat moste excellent or subtyll philosophre. Ne
vertheles it were moste couenable and a man coude fynde suche
that so parfyte that were a noble clerke. And of suche men the
princes shuld enquere dylygently for the good condycyons &
maners that the childe seeth in the mayster and the wyse wor
& countenaunce of hym, is to the childe as a doctryne &
mayster ought to monesteyne hym by grete
nat withstandyng that nature of
the sone of a prynce
for to make hym lerne rather than by
a childe that is brought
many sorcumynge also when he vnderstandeth
of lordshyp by the worshyp that men do
vnder the maner of suche correccyon conspyre
great indignacion whyche may be great
lernynge and to the peryll of his mayster.
childe whyche is soone lyed and dely-
what ought the wyse man for to doo
suche ensample as is shewde
that where the syll-

of princes ben nouysshed fother yonge chyldren that ben
comyn sones whiche ben his disciples / he ought to be shar-
pe to them when they wylle take them selfe / in suche case as
the sone of the prince hathe offended in / and ought to berte
them reuerably . but more to chastyse them by charpe coun-
trauaylle than by great betynges . And in semblable wyse he
muste vse suche maners to the sone of the prince if he wyll
not correcte hym selfe . And at some tyme he muste lette hym fe-
le his rodde . And so by suche meanes he shall make hym sha-
mefast of suche thynges as he doth amysse and right ferefull
and obeysaunt . And also the wyse mayster ought to kepe hym
selfe / that he the whe hym not to familyare / or to prowde to his dis-
ciple / shall ordre hym the lasse / and that the chylde also le hym
not play to moche playes / nor la ughe at nofoly nor folysshe wor-
des / nor be not to moche acqueynted but lyke as he were bal-
fe mayster ouer euery man . And his countenaunce ought to
be great layre and stedfast / And his clothynge ought to be
clene and honourable / and also by fore his disciple he ought
not to speke no vayne wordes / but profytable and of good en-
samples . Yet not for that he shulde not at all tymes make a
sharpe vysage nor sharpe wordes / but he ought to do it to the
chylde vnto hym with ampable and swete wordes when that
he wyth holdeth wyll that he lerneth / or elles and he doo any
other goodly thynge / And also the mayster ought to do hym
some tyme pleasure with some maner of thynges that is plea-
saunt for chyldren . And to tell hym other whyle some good
chyldrens tale of some ryotfull but to make hym to laughe . Yet
all for by cause that he shulde not be [illegible] as
as his owne disciples / Also the mayster ought to haue a com
petent haire and a certayn trusse / and a true appel [illegible]
me / in whiche the chylde shulde [illegible]
per that gyue hym [illegible]

ought to be rewlyd that he ete nat to swete & delycate meetes
nor drynke to stronge and myghty wynes whiche cauleth oft
tymes great corrupcyons or ellys sykenelles. And when the
chylde cometh to his grāmer / thenne the mayster muste be-
gynne to vse more subtyll wordes in his doctryne / lyke as he
seeth the vnderstandyng of the chylde / and that he be able to
conceyue them. And so lytell and lytell / and more and more ly
ke wyse as the nowrys enforceth the fedynge of the chylde
after his wexynge so I suppose verely that the prynce wyll
that his sone be lerned in letture soo ferre / as that he myght
vnderstande the reules of grāmer and to vnderstande latyne
whiche and it pleased god / I wolde that it were so by a gene-
rall custome of all prynces that ben nowe / and be for to come.
For I suppose that moche profyte shuld growe therof to them
and to theyr subiectes. in so moche that it shulde cause the peo
ple to encreace in goodnes and great vertue. And the prynces
chyldren shulde be taughte so ferre in letture / as that they
myght vnderstande theyr logyke / and so to contynewe there
in / lyke as the noble and wyse prynce ỹ duke of Orlyans that
nowe seeth / at the instaunce of the right honourable wyse
and vertuous duches my lady his wyfe. whiche as she that
is the perfyter and worshypper of kunnynge and vnderstan-
dynge is dylygent lyke a prudent moder to instructe her chyl
dren to wysdome in letture and kunnynge. ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶
¶ And ouer all this the wyse mayster beforesayd whenne the
vnderstandynge of the chylde begynneth to encreace and to
haue greatter knowlege. thenne he ought to lerne hym and
leede hym with wyser doctryne / and namely in good maners
by good ensamples or ellys to make hym rede in bookes of
hystoryes / and he shulde make hym to vnderstande to knowe /
and vyseryse the good from the cupll / and teche hym and she-
wedym the wayes for to shewe good maners and vertue. lyke

as the worthy pryncs and well renowned haue done before tyme as his predecessours and other noble pryncs. And to shewe hym all the great goodnesse that foloweth a good man. And in cõtrary wyse to them that ben euyl or vycious and if he se hym in any wyse enclyned to the subtylte of kunnynge. he ought to shewe hym pleasaunt reasons to that entent that he shulde vnderstande the great felycyte that is in kunnyng and open hym the wayes of Philosophy. That is to knowe for to make hym fele and vnderstande it. And so for to haue such a mayster at his begynnynge the sone of the pryncc if he contynewe in suche doctryne when he cometh to his age. he shall come to great excellence of vertue and to great renoume.

Here after it sheweth to what maner of men ought to be gyuen the gouernaunce of the children of pryncs. Capitulo. iiii.

When the sone of the pryncc is somwhat growen by/ Then he ought to be departyd from the woman that haue norysshed hym. And put hym to the warde pryncypally of one of his auncyent knyghtes that is of great auctorite. And it muste be well vnderstande that he be a wyse knyght trewe manly and of good lyuynge. And with hym other in lyke wyse. Thenne this knyght ought dilygently to take good hede to the maners of the childe as moche or more then to the kepynge of his body. He ought to be dylygent. also for to make hym rede at a competent houre for to here his masse to saye his matens with fayre and well afferyd countenaūce speke fayre to ỳ people salewe them benygnely yelde euery man ỳ doth hym worshyp lyke as longeth to his estate.

And the same knyght shuld shewe hym ofte tymes what lon
geth to the honour and worshyp of knyghthode and shuld tel
hym of the worshypfull dedes that ỹ worthy men haue done
before tyme. Also he shuld let hym know which ben good men
and better men and best men of his faders howse. And on the
tother parte whiche that ought moste to be worshypped. Also
he muste shewe hym what is the maner of batayle & the wor-
shyp in armes how men fyghten. how mẽ allayen. how men
defende them. and for what quarelles men shuld do armes &
fyghte. what harnes is best moste stronge and moste sewre. or
the most esy. and he shuld tell hym the causes why. And how
a man shuld haue dyuers armures. after the case requyreth
of the batayle or of the armes that he shall do. howe men dyd
somtyme. and how men do now. and how he shulde preyse the
good and worshypfull men and to drawe them towarde hym
lowe them and worshyp them. And all suche goodly thyngs he
shuld do. And that knyght ought to take good hede ỹ aboute
the prynces some there be nouther great ne small vse no
dyshonest tales. nor that they induce hym nat to no foly. Also
he ought to take good hede that the chyldren which ben about
hym be well norysshed and well manered to that entent that
they bryuge hym nat for to do lewdely nor folysshely. And if ỹ
prynces sone do amysse. he shuld correcte hym saying in this
wyse that it accordeth nat to the state of a prynce for to do so.
And if he wyll nat amende hym selfe. it shall be to his great
shame. for a prynce without honour is nothyng worthe. And
if he wyll nat be gouerned otherwyse that he wyll leue hym &
go to hym. and thus he shuld say to hym ofte tymes. And vn-
der this fourme they shuld be gouerned if they wolde attayne
to worshyp in tyme to come. And this affermeth valere in his
boke whiche he seyth how ỹ auncyent wyse men induced their
chyldren to good maners. And for to take vpõ them ỹ hardnes

of great empryses of worshyp and manhode: For they shewed them the great worthynes and dedes of good knyghtes. And shewed them also other good ensamples seynge how that no man myght come to the degre of worshyp but by vertue. And at meete tymes made synge gestes of the worthy men that were past out of the world/ and of ꝑ worshypfull dedes of theyr predecessours/ to that entent that the wyll of yonge folkes shulde be the more couraged/ And thus sayth valere that ꝑ olde auncyent men taught thus theyr chyldren: And then were scoles kept of the worthynes of knyghthode and of good maners/ of the whiche scoles he sayth come out the Cesarcs/ and the noble lygnes renomed in prowesse & manhode: So it is no doute that by good ensamples and by wyse sterynges/ ofte tymes to here & se in chyldhode may be the cause that a man shall come to excellence in all vertues: And semblably by euyll doctryne/ they may be brought in to ꝑ way of pardycyon: For Iuerroys sayth in the seconde boke of Physeques/ that a man may get hym a seconde nature. that is to knowe by longe custome of good or euyll. And therfore the frendes to theyr power oughte to kepe theyr chyldren from euyll customes takynge in theyr youthe: For as Orose sayth the erthen pot wyll kepe longe ꝑ swete taste of that lycoure that it is firste occupyed with. And for this cause they of Grece/ that gouerned them somtyme by great knowynge & malyce. payned them selfe in suche wyse ꝑ these people ꝑ they hated shuld take dylectacyon in euyll customes/ & by such meanes founde wayes to be auenged vpon them

¶ The exhortacyons that men shulde make to the chyldren of prynces. Capitulo. 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 b.

Also the sone of ꝑ prynce he beyng in chyldhode ought to be at somtymes brought in to counseyle where that

the wyse men ben assembled that determyne the nedes of the lande and ꝑ causes that fallen therin. And the ordre to gouerne well the polycye to that entent that from his chyldhode he shulde be desyrous to here and speke of the gouernaunce of the lordshyp whiche he is borne vnto and that he is eyre of. so that he may at all tymes lerne to speke and to answere. of all suche thynges as belongeth vnto hym / And the knyghtes and the wyse men shulde say vnto hym that he shulde take good hede of that he hereth theym speke in counceyle / and that he bere it well awaye in his mynde. ¶ Furthermore they that haue hym in gouernaunce ought to make byfore hym. all maner of straunge thynges of dyuers countrees. And of the customes of men of werre. of batayles. And of the gouernaũce of dyuers places. of dyuers armes. Also of the feete of clergy / of the pope and of the churche. And the cõmaundementes to be shewed vnto hym by doctoures of Theologye. ¶ And all that a man ought to byleue as a good cryſten man. Also he shulde here sermons & collacions of clerkes at somtymes. And at somtyme to here speke of ꝑ comõs. of marchaũtes. of labourers how they leue and cheuyssihe them selfe. of ryche men & poore men. And also of all maner thynges to that entent that in his vnderstandyng he be nat ygnoraũt of no maner thyng ꝑ ought to be vertuously knowen. ¶ For the philosopher sayth that man is nat wyse ꝑ hath nat vnderstandyng in all maner thynges. ¶ And also it is ryght well done ꝑ his body be put in exercyse of some maner of labour & trauayle. as in playng at ꝑ pame or at the baase or other lyke playes / so that it be nat ouermochẽ. but meurably to that entent. that he wax nat to wery ne to heuy ne to gowdy by to moch rest / ne ꝑ it cause nat the superfluе humours for to gadre in hym. Semblably it shuld byhalde hym of the poore & nedy people & shewe them hym & tell hym that he ought to haue pyte and compassyon vpon them.

And that he do them good for the loue of god / whiche shall b
a meane for to gette hym paradyse. And also that he haue pyt
hy on poore gentylwomen and orphalynes and socoure them
in theyr nedes for the loue of god and gentylnesse. And to a
poore women and men to his power. And gentyllye here they
requestes / and they shuld endure hym also to be benygne an
humble and trewe and tell hym and shewe hym that nat with
standynge though he / by the grace of god be chosen to so gre
estate. yet he is as mortall as another / and shal bere nothyng
with hym out of this worlde / but the good dedes and ꝑ cuyl
that he hathe done in this worlde. And for as moche as he is
gretter than another man / he shall yelde the gretter accompt
Also he ought nat to be ꝓcudence feers in corage thoughe so
be that men do hym great reuerences and worshyppes / but
ought to yelde all ꝑ graces to god / and shuld knowe the great
gyftes that he receyueth of our lorde / And all suche good en-
samples & moeyons wolde be shewed to ꝑ sone of the pryncs
yet natwithstandynge this he muste be suffred at somtymes
for to playe and take his dysportes lyke as it is rehersed here
tofore. And alwayes amonge it shuld nat be forgoten to stere
hym to good vertues and maners. ꝟ ꝟ ꝟ ꝟ ꝟꝟ ꝟꝟꝟꝟ

Here it telleth what the yonge prynce ought to do when he
begynneth to gouerne. Capitulo. ꝟꝟ ꝟꝟꝟꝟ. vi

When the sone of the prynce is ful growen and come to
his age / and to the tyme of receyuyng his lordshyp /
so sesed in his heryt age by succession / be it of Realme
or other lordshyp / Then lyke as after the flowres of trees sho
weth the frute / In lyke wyse shuld appere and be shewed in
hym the perfeccyon of vertue / after the ensample of Charles
the fyfte the wyse kynge of Fraunce / whiche held well the

wayes of vertue. For after that he was crowned / at wyth ſtan
dynge that it was in the flowre of his youthe / there was ne
uer perſone that euer cowde take hym wyth any thynge of dis
honeſte nor that he neuer occupyed tyme / but in all vertues &
cõmendable thynges / lyke as I haue wryten of hym byfore
this tyme in the boke that ſpeketh of his actes and dedes and
of his good maners. And in thys thyng the vertues of a prin
ce ought to be ſhewed without whyche he may nat gete ne ha
ue the crowne of his good name nor of his renowme and by cõ
ſequent of worſhyp. The firſte is / and the moſte pryncypall lo
ue god and drede hym / and ſerue hym without feynyng. And
rather to ſerue hym wyth good dedes / than be to longe lynge
in his orysons / Another is this. he ought to loue ſynguler ly
the encreſe of his realme and of his people. And in that poynt
he ought to ſet his ſtudye rather than vpon his ſynguler pro-
fyte. The thirde is that ſouerayngely he ought to loue Juſty
ce and kepe it and holde it without brekyng. And he ſhuld do
equyte to all people / and by obſeruynge of theſe thre poyntes /
he ſhall be crowned wyth glory bothe in heuen & in erth. Now
from henſforth we wyll contynewe in our mater as in ỹ firſte
partye whyche ſpeketh of the heed / That is to wyt of the prin
ce or of princes and we wyll founde vs vpon theſe thre poynt-
tes / And for to ſpeke of ỹ firſte poynte whyche is for to loue god
out of the whyche we ſhuld draw we many braunches of vertue
that hangeth there vpon / & all to our purpoſe / And after this
in lyke wyſe for to ſpeke of the tother twayne. 2 2 2 2

¶ Of the ſadde auyſe that is conuenable for a yonge prynce for to haue. Capitulo. vii.

The good prynce that loueth god wyl be frede to do any
thynge what ſomeuer it be ayenſt the reuerence and

cõmaundement of god/ and wyll payne hym self to knowe all thynges that hym ought to do/ And all suche thyng/ as hym ought nat to do/ And by the lernynge of this he shall perceyue and knowe his fragylyte & that he is a man mortall. subiecte to shorte lyfe passyoned with mortall thynges. Naturell and frayll as another man without any dyfference/ except the goodes of fortune/ But whan he shall studye the lawe of god to be wel enfourmed therin lyke as a good cristen man ought to be, he wyl auyse hym self well vpon ꝑ perell of these goodes for hurtynge of his soule. That is to wete if he vse them nat well he is lost/ And that he dothe by the great lordshyp that he occuppeth/ is nat elles but an offyce translytory/ and of lytell durynge. and that he muste nedes leue it in shorte tyme. That is to knowe by waye of deth/ whiche is derke and a fere full passage/ and the counte that he muste yelde byfore that Juge that no thynge is hyd fro. Whiche wyll rewarde euery man after his deserynge. Than if the prynce remembre this well/ he shal fynde mater ynought for to preyse but lytell these worldly worshyppes and goodes. whiche ben so full of peryll and so lytell whyle durynge/ All suche thoughtes and remembraunces. euery good prynce ought to haue in his herte/ whiche shall cause to defende hym self ageynst the great arrey-synge of pryde and myssknowynge hys persone/ But yet for all this sythen that our lorde hath chosen them to the offyce of lordshyp/ they ought to meynteyne it by worldly wysdome & discrecyon/ moralle/ Than may be thynke that he shall rewle and gouerne the lawe lyke a prynce with good and vertuous maners. And also he muste be dylygent in all thynges that longeth to the comen wele of his realme and to kepe them in peas to his power. And also he shulde vse so discretely his honneures & magnyficence/ that bely ynen to hym/ in suche wyse that his herte be nat empeched nor arrested on heyght ayenst

his god. This good prynce as goddes vycary in erthe muste
take hede with a great herte to ꝑ wele of the Churche to that
entent that his creature ought to be seruyd dewly as ferre as
his reason maye gyue hym. And if there fall any dyscorde by
the vnstedfastnesse of the deuyll our ennemye he ought to ma-
kepeas what laboure that euer he take therfore. And that he
take good hede also to the promocyons of his mynysters that
they make noo requeste for none of his seruauntes / nor none
other thoughe he loue hym neuer so well / in lasse than he vn-
derstande that he be a clerke / A good man and able to serue
god in that prebende that he desyres. And of this he ought to
enquere dylygently. or that he gyue it / or ellys he chargeth
greatly his conscyence / and is cause of theyr dampnacion that
ben promoted by hym to theyr benefyces / and be nat able ther
to as it is founde in the decrees. But nowe a dayes / there is
no suche rewle kepte / and that is great pyte. For god knoweth
if that suffysyaunce of clergye / for a good man / of iuste lyfe be
nowe a dayes the cause of the promocyons of clerkes / Cer-
teynly nay. but oft tymes they ben gyuen by meanes of flate-
rynge / by adulacyon. and other wyckednesse. and by the pray-
ers of lordes. And so it apperyth by the ruyne of the shyppe
with what wynde it is smyten. For the falle couetyse is the
occheson of theyr promocyons. And this causeth theym to
fall in great and horryble errours and so blynded in the Chur
che / that it is meruayle without goddes mercy that euer it
maye be wrecche and yeas. for the fowle Symony and other
inconuenyentes that falle ther to. Alas and as our lorde Je-
su criste sayth in the Euangelye speckynge to the Pharyses,
The queene of Saba that came out of ferre countrees for to
vnderstande the wysedome of Salamon. shall condempne
you / that haue with you more than Salamon. and wyll nat
knowe it. So in lyke wyse the paynems whiche kepte theyr

labre [illegible]yme dylygently and without treſpaſſe in great re-
uerence obſeruynge all theyr ceremonyes notwithſtandyng
that they were falſe and reproued of god maye be interprete to
crysten men / whiche obſerue nat & kepe nat theyr lawes that
ben ſo holy. Is it nat wryten of theſe auncyent paynems that
they had ſo great deuocyon to theyr Idoles and goddes / that
they were ſo dylygent and curyous in all thynges / that all
maner ordynaunces and ſtabylyſhynges that they made wo-
re wele kepte: And alſo the preeſtes that dyd the ſacrifyces
ſhuld be men of feyre and honeſt lyfe. And if they were foūde
in the contrarye / they were punyſſhed right egerly. And they
were ſo ſtreytly taken hede vpon that they wolde nat ſuffer
them to faylle of theyr ſeruyce / no / in no wyſe to be vycyous /
And as valere ſayth that was right well ſhewed at Rome as
it is declared in the firſte chaptre of this booke / how it happed
vpon a tyme that the chaplet fyll downe of one of the preeſt / be
des whiche dyd the obſeruaunces of theyr ſacrifyce / whiche
chapelet was a propre rayment that they vſed at that tyme
lyke as we myght ſay a mytre. And for bycauſe he was ſo ne
clygent that his chapelet fylle ſo frohym at the tyme of theyr
ſeruyce / they thought he was nat worthy to haue that office /
ſo they depoſed hym. And in lyke wyſe they dyd by a virgyne
that was yelden in to a temple of one of theyr goddeſſes whi-
che was called Veſta. And for bycauſe that this virgyn that
was as men myght ſay a Nunne was neclygent to take hede
of a lampe that ſhulde at no tyme be lefte vnlyght / and for by
cauſe that oones it was nat attended with oyle it happed to be
quenched / ſhe was to greuouſly punyſſhed therfore and depo-
ſed of her office. And many other enſamples I cowde ſhewe
you of theyr ſadde rewles that were kept amonge them and
I had any leyſer / But nowe a dayes amonge vs here there
ben many of our pontyfycalles and preeſtes in whiche is ſeen

openly great plente of horyble dissaut. ¶ And there is no pryn
ce ne none other man that wyll ones repreue them of theyr de-
fautes but suche there be that crouse them selfe or they be ac-
cused and say they be men of none aungelles. ¶ And that it is ꝑ
nature of man for to synne Alas suche ben no men for the bo-
dy of man is but a fyrell bessell whiche may be fylled with a
fyrell thyng but they be very deuylles & fawolowers of helle
For lyke as the mouthe of hell may neuer be satisfyed nor fyl-
led though it receyue neuer so moche. nomore may theyr desy
re be fulfylled ne satisfyed for ꝑ great couetyse ꝑ is in them
of the great deuyls for whiche cause all euyll thyng is comen
within & the wordes of saluce may well be verifyed in them
that sayeth what maner thyng is ꝑ may staunche the insacya
ble man from couetyse. ¶ Herby may good pryncs ought to take
hede to al these thyngs. ¶ For though so be that the congregacion of
people of the churche ꝑteyn not alwaye vnto hym nor longeth not
to hym yet wherin ꝑ prelate be he neuer so great ouer preest
or clerke ꝑ dareth with his open murmur & yenuit ꝑ peyace through
the rebuke of his hyghnes the vyces & synnes of suche people.
And ouer this ꝑ good pryncs ought to take good hede that the
temple and the house of god be not polluted or defouled by ꝑ-
uers synnes done there in slyke as our crysten men do nowe a
dayes as marchaunt and other estat whiche haue no shame
to holde theyr ꝑliamentes of theyr worldly matters and
god knoweth they make many false contractes. And yet our
lorde Jhesu cryste spake to such folkes in the gospell. Wherin he
sayd, wyll ye make of ꝑ temple of my father which is an house
of ꝑsyers house or a cause of theues or a place of erthly thyngs
yet made euer to our damnacion. ¶ The ende ꝑ the ꝑyncs
of the fourthe age as balere recordeth vnto ꝑ same purpose of ꝑ
romayns that the romaynes had to theyr goddes. Sperketh of
two goddesses that is to knowe of two dedes. ¶ pryncs of Rome

whiche were with a great hoost in straunge landes but only by
cause only that they hylde the counsayle of they⁹ ordynaunce
in the temple. The senatures of Rome that is to say ꝑ great
counseyle of the souerayngnes depoled them of their offices
nat withstandynge that they were pallyng worthy and wor
thypfull men. And in lyke wyse they dyd by another pryncꝑ
was called Fabius maximus whiche was a ryght famous
knyght in armes and was depoſed from ꝑ hyghest office of
pryncꝑ that was in Rome / that is to say of Dictatour that was
called dictatour. for from all other pryncꝑs men myght aper
they⁹ ordynaunce, & statute appele to the hyghe estate of the dic
tatour. And further than that there myght no man appele
and he was depoſed for no thyng elys but for bycause that he
herde certayne queſtyons in the temple of dyuers thynges. &
in lyke wyse they depoſed Tarquyn Sampyus from his ryalte
whiche was right a great chyuallrayne of men of armes. But
alas nowe a dayes they be nat depoſed that make they⁹ ꝑ
lyments and all mbles in the churches but maketh the chur
ches as fowle stables for horſes.

¶ Of the obſeruaunces and the lawe that a good pryncꝑ ought to hyde. Capitulo. viii.

¶ A good pryncꝑ ꝑceyueth god ought to haue ꝑ great co
nuersacyon in his mynde and how the hyghe name
of god ought nat to be taken in veyne / And therfore he ſhulde
make a cryc in all his lande by the which he ſhuld diffende al
payns of great punyſſyon that no maner of man ſhuld cuſto
mably ſwerynge forſake his creatour. Alas it were great pyte
now a dayes in Fraunce that ſuch a cryc were made. For this
horrible vice is ſo great and dyuerſ all amongſt the peple of the
mercyerners of the yecreature that bryngeth them commonly in

other langage be it in game or ernest but swere horribly at the affirmacion of euery worde by the tormentes of our lordes passyon whiche is our redemptour and Kayne and forsake god/ I beleue that the paynems in olde tyme had ben full lothe for to haue sworne so by theyr Idoles and goddes. All suche maner thynges the good prynce ought to defende. For it is contrary and reprouable to the Kelygyon of all cristen men. And it may be cause to gette goddes wrothe and the subuersion of Reames and countres/ where that it reygneth as it is conteyned in dyuers propheceyes And thus euery good prynce that loueth god ought to kepe and obserue dylygently ye lawe dyuyne and the holy estabilysshyng in these thyng and in all other that ben worshypfull and vertuous whiche I leue to declare at this tyme for lacke of leyser and shortnes of tyme. And for by cause also that moche lyenge of this mater noyeth some for hes. whiche deyneth nat to obserue and kepe these thynges afore rehersed. But the good prynce that kepeth this/ the good lorde aboue wyll defende hym and kepe hym & encreate hym in vertue both of body and soule. And why shuld nat he haue the layth in that almyghty and iuste lorde. when ye paynems had a truste and an hope that by theyr goddes they were relenyd and greatly set vp as it apperyth by that/ that valere recounteth of ye cyte of Rome in so moch as they had so great wyll to the seruyce of theyr goddes. And sayth thus. our [illegible] hath sette aside all maner thynges for the seruyce of the goddes. And also these thynges only that kept the worshyp and the soueraygne magestie/ that is to say of ye Emperours for they had a very byleue that in wynnyng of these worshypes to theyr goddes they gate the rewle and gouernaunce of all ye worlde. And therfore ye Emperours of our cyte and all other generally haue nat be very nor neclygēt to serue trewely th re goddes/ So this suffyceth at this tyme as for the fyrste poynt

¶ our fyrste parte/whiche speketh how that ỹ vertue of prynces ought to be fyrste founded and shrowed in that/that he shuld serue and drede god.

¶ Howe that a good prynce ought to be resemblyd to a good shepeherde. Capitulo. ij.

NOwe we haue touched in ỹ fyrste poynte where vpon the bounte of the prynce ought to be prynceypally founded. And here after we muste speke of the seconde poynte/ that is to knowe that the good prynce ought to loue lyngulerly the comon wele/and the encrease therof more than of his owne after the doctrine of Arystotle/whiche is declared in his boke of polytykes/that sayth that tyrannye is when a prynce geteth more goodes for his owne profyte/ then for the comon wele And that is also agaynst the lordshyp Royall/for he ought to be more dylygent to encrease the wele of his comons than his owne wele. Nowe it muste be declared in what maner he may stande and shewe this loue. The good prynce that loueth his lande muste kepe his people dylygently after the ensample of a good Shepeherde/whiche kepyth well his shepe and maketh good watche by great dilygence for to defende them from the wolfe and other cuyll beestes/and that they be clenly kept and in helthe/to that entent that they may encrace and fruytfye and welde they: wolle hoole and sounde and made fatte by the erthe by ỹ whiche they be norysshed and kept/ So that the shepeherde maye be well payde of the fleces gadred in season. But the great ryche shepeherde that gyueth great good to kepe his shepe/for bycause he maye nat kepe all his floces hym selfe purchaseth hym of helpe good & conuenable/ & taketh with hym good dylygent and wyse seruauntes/whiche he knoweth well that they ben true we and loue his profyte/ when he

ordeyth that these men shulde be well garnysshed of good and mighty houndes well colered with yron. which houndes ben wont to chase the wolfes out of ꝑ feldes/ and at nyght they lowsethem vntyed to kepe the shepe/ to that entent that the theues come nat ꝑeuely for to stele them/ but that anone they be redy to ronne vpon them/ And in the day tyme they tye them to theyr gyrdelles aboute them whyle ꝑ shepe pasture peasybly in the feldes. But and it happen that the sayde seruaunte here any noyse of wolues or any other cuyll beestes comynge out of the woodes or from the mountaynes/ Than anone they let lose vse theyr houndes and let theym ronne and comforte them strongly and for to gyue them the more hardynes/ they ronne after theyr houdes with good staues well pyked with yron agaynst the wolues or other cuyll beestes/ and if it happen that any of the shepe go out of the flocke/ the good houndes whiche ben well wonte therto/ renneth after and fecheth hym agayne without doynge hym any harme. And by these meanes the wyse seruauntes defende them & kepe them so well that they yelde a good accounte to the souerayne shepherde whiche taketh right good heede to theyr rewle. In lyke wyse your purpose is the good prynce. Whiche is alway besy and dylygent for the saufgarde & ꝑ dyffence of his countre and of his people/ to the whiche saufgarde and diffence is nat possyble that his owne persone may be in euery place where charges yeth in. Therfore he shuld purueye to gette hym good helpe/ well for the feete of knyghthode as other wayes That is to knowe of worthy cheuetaynes ꝑ he knoweth for good & true & such as loueth hym tenderly/ as Counstable/ marchall/ admyrall/ & other men. to ꝑ which he gyueth charge vnto/ to wage prouysyon of good men of armes well vsed and lerned in the werre/ whiche he byndeth them by theyr othe to be about hym/ and departe nat without his leue but be redy

alwayes to do his cõmaundement. to that entent / if it be nede that they be redy for to go agaynst they⁹ enemyes / so that the countrey be nat dyffowled nor the people robbyd ne slayne.

It is nat to vnderstande that the men of armes them selfe shuld dyffowle and pyle the countrey lyke as they do in Fraũce now a dayes. Wherfor as in other wurres they durste nat do so / which is a great myschefe & an ouerthwarte ordynaunce. that they that ben stablysshed and ordeyned for the defence of the people. they them selfe pyle them & robbe them full cruelly / suche there ben that without kyllynge or sleeynge they⁹ howles a fyre þ enemyes myght do no more to them. This is nat the ryghtfull meanes of werre which ought to be Iuste and without extorcion / But the men of werre and they⁹ princes that sende them to werre / soon the people ben in great peryll þ the wrath of god fall nat vpon them & greuously to punysshe them. For it is no doute that the cursynge of the people ryght fully wrongly by sufferynge of to great oppressynges may cause [illegible] many cuyll auentures for to fall / lyke as we fynde ensample in [illegible] & in many other places. For euery man ought to know [illegible] that god is iust and ryghtfull / And this great faute cometh but of cuyll ordynaunce. For and the men of werre were well payde, [illegible] myght charge theym in payne of deth that they shuld take nothyng good vnpayde for / And by suche meanes men shuld fynde [illegible] & all other thynges ynoughe that were necessary [illegible] ynoughe & plenteously me thynke it is a great mercy [illegible] people may lyue vnder this ordynaunce. and of the pyte [illegible] lyfe there is no compassion. Now the holy goost fader of [illegible] people haue mercy on them and vysyt them. Now to þ purpose of [illegible] sayd. if a shepeherde had an houde that wolde renne vpon his shepe. anone he wold gyue hym a great stroke with his staf. Than it is nat lyttynge for a good pryour that loueth [illegible]

his people/ to suffre his people to be robbed & pyled/ & lyke as the hounde lye vnbounden in ỳ nyght to kepe the shepe from theues. in lyke wyse the cheuetaynes ought to set watche and espyes vpon the frountieres and to sende ferre aboute them to that entent/ that the cõtrey and the people be nat stolen vpon ye nyght with theues/ nor by no maner of cautele. And also that they may vnderstande the couyne of theyr enemyes. yet there longeth another offyce to the men of armes. and that is this/ lyke as the good hounde getteth agayne the shepe that is gone out from the flocke/ in suche wyse ought they to bryng in ỳ poore comons if they wold erre or fall in ryotte wyll or rebellyon outher by manaces or ellys ỳ they take good heede of them. And for bycause that it myght displease/ and be nat mayte to some men/ that a man shulde lyken ỳ offyce of armes to the nature of an hounde Certaynly the hounde hath many properetees. whyche a good man of armes ought to take heede of/ and be lyke vnto hym: the hounde loueth his mayster meruayllously well/ and is full tre we vnto hym/ and in lyke wyse it is necessarye to the good man of armes dyspose hym selfe to the obseruance of his mayster for to dye therfore/ And when he is cõmytted to haue the kepynge of any place/ he herketh clerely and watcheth anone/ and maketh hym redy for to goo vpon the ryotte doers and robbers/ but they wyll nat byte the frendes of his mayster/ but smelleth them naturally nor his neyghboures. nor them that ben of the howsehalde whyche he is norysshed in/ but to his power he wyll kepe them/ Also an hounde is right hardy and feyghteth with great vertue. Also he is of great vnderstandynge and of great knowlege/ and ryght louynge to hym that cherysshyth hym lowe/ And all these condycyons the good man of armes ought to haue.

Cyt of the same.

But for to come agayne to our fyrste purpose lyke as it is sayde of the good shepeherde whiche taketh good hede that his shepe be kept clene and holeth / The good prynce may nat at all tymes put the hole rewle vnto his mynysters But he hymselfe lyke a man that is benygne / ought to here them in all causes as ferre as he may. And he shuld nat doute nor displeyse the [illegible] supplycacions of his people / but he ought benygnely to condissende to theyr requestes / after mercy and Justyce. Also he ought to take hede that they be nat dissowled nor eten by false officers and mynysters / And for to speke clerely of this purpose / a man must haue great leyser and space and it myght happen so that if a man wolde say the trouth of many thynges it shuld displese dyuers folkes / But withouten doute it is great pyte / that suche trouthe shuld be hydde and kepte close for any feer or fauoure of any persone / And to this purpose Senecke speketh well. in the. vi. boke of benefyces in the. xxi. chaptre / I wyll shewe the he sayth. Wherin they be disceyued that be lyfte vp to great estate. And what lacketh to them that men wene haue all? No thyng ellys but they can nat fynde no man that wyll tell theym trouthe. And this sentence is trewe. For the seruauntes that ben aboute ye prynces say nat will of thym / but only for theyr owne synguler profytes. wherfore they entende no thynge but to flatery / & speke to the plesaunce of lordes. And so by theyr feyre langage they blynde theyr louerayngnes. Therfore it is wryten in the thirde booke of Polycratique in the. xii. chaptre. that the flaterer is enemy to all vertues / & that he is fattened as a nayle in the mannes eye that he is aqueynted with. And to the purpose of these officers / that is to knowe of the cupll and except the good without moche spekynge of theyr dedes I wyll nat make to longe processe therof. But wolde god that ye prynces knewe them well & vnderstode theyr dedes and what people

they haue aboute theym for myn̄yst̄racyon of they⁹ thynges.
And me thynketh there is no thynge that is so foule ne so co⁹
rupte as is the conscyens of some of them in all p̄ticularytes
But there ben many that can by grete malyce hyde subtelly
they⁹ vyces vnder fayned symulacyon and vnder a fayre co⁹
loure/but and it so be that they can not hyde ꝑ experyence of
they⁹ dedes/and of they⁹ wordes/if whyche as fayre as they se=
me/there is no trouthe in theym/wyl not the more outwarde
the open peruersyte to them that falleth in they⁹ daungers
in they⁹ hōdes. ¶For also it can not come to ꝑ knowlege of they⁹
lordes. ¶And also no man dare tell them for fere that the lorde
wolde be displeased with them that telleth hym ꝑ trouthe for
lordes nowe a dayes wyll not here euyll spoken of they⁹ men
for there is a comen worde that renneth nowe in the countree
for to say. ¶My lorde hath a ryght good condycyon with hym
for he loueth no man that wyll tell hym an euyll tale of his ser
uaunte. ¶Alas it were a good guyse for the lordes for to here
vnderstonde ꝑ rule of they⁹ seruauntes. ¶But and it happened
that any man for enuye accused another as it maye happen
some tyme to fall/than when the lorde had well enquyred the
trouth and fyndeth his accusacyon false/then he ought to pu
nyllhe hym and put hym out of his house as a false lyer/an
enuyous man. ¶And by this meane/they⁹ felowes wolde drede
for to do or say euyll/and it (holde scale moche angre trouble
that is done. ¶But the lorde sholde haue wyll that euery of his
subiectes sholde do they⁹ offyces in peas whyche god hath cal=
led them to. ¶The nobles/ryght as they ought to do. ¶The clergy
attende they⁹ sciences to they⁹ deuyne seruyce. ¶The marchaū
des to they⁹ marchaundyses. ¶The men of craft to they⁹ occu=
pacyon. ¶The labourers to they⁹ laboures. ¶And euery man
in his degree to lyue with good policye without doynge enyre
pacyon nor dyshonest chaunge to that entente ꝑ they may lyue

couenably vnder hym/and that they maye loue hym as they ought to loue a good prynce. And þ he may haue of them þ reuenes þ ought reasonably to be gadered in his coffre wout to grete oppressynge of his poore comyns. Lyke as Valere sayth. That the Emperoure Tyberyus answered ones to them þ sayd to hym / why he set no greter subsydy on his people for he myght well do it / he answered and sayd / it longeth quod he to a shepeherde to shere his shepe at one season in the yere / but not to flee hym nor teere his skynne / in suche wyse that the blode come after.

¶ The loue that the good prynce ought to haue to his subiectes. Capitulo.

Here we must se a lytell of the ryght of the prynce after the lawes. That is to wete yf the good prynce may set ony new imposityon or subsydy vpon his people aboue his demeynes for ony cause in þ worlde. And me semeth þ the lawes graunteth lyence ynough and graunteth that the prynce may do it in some case. Notwithstandynge it sholde be done as sydome as it myght. And for to knowe for what cause it sholde be done / it is to vnderstande / for the defence of his londe ayenst his enemyes / yf it be that he be assayled by the warre / for þ whyche he must holde men of warre vnder wages for the defence of the londe. Also for maryenge of his chyldren / for getynge them out of prysone / yf they be in that case. And for these causes specyally he may set a subsydy vpon his subiectes without offendynge of the lawe. But yet it ought to be done with grete compassyon & discretyon for þ leest charge of the people þ myght be. And that he take noo more than is necessary for the same cause that he sette it for. And in this case / the ryche ought

to supporte the poore. And not that the ryche to be excused nor
exempte lyke as it is nowe a dayes and that the poore folke
be so moche more charged/ for I dare saye whoso euer be dys-
pleased ther with/ that is a grete meruayle sauynge they re-
uerence ye the grete and ryche officyers of the kynge or of other
prynces whiche haue they grete estate and power of ye kynge
and of the lordes and that maye well bere the charges that
they sholde be exempte. And the poore men that haue nothynge
of the kynge be bounde to paye. And howe may this be by reas
son/ yf I haue gyuen a grete good to one of my seruauntes for
to mayntayne his lyfe honourably and it happened that a ne-
de fell vnto me/ ought not he to helpe me sooner in my dystresse
than he that had neuer nothynge of me/ yt is a straunge custo
me nowe a dayes that is vsed in this royalme/ for the feare of
taples or impositions whiche ben sette for the poore men pay
and the ryche go free. But who that wolde do well sholde bre-
ke this and make it to be borne euenly. And that some of ye gre
te men paye and some not. For of suche thynges wolde aryse
enuyes. For it sholde seme a maner of a bondage and a dys-
playsynge to them that pay it. But and it were brought that
euery man sholde paye/ then sholde there be noo reprochey yet
notwithstandynge I holde not with that/ that they that folo-
we the warre for the defence of the londe/ but that they sholde
be exempte. And this that I saye for the poore people compas-
syon hath moued me for the grete wepynges and syghynges
that cometh bytterly frome they hartes. For some of theym
there be that whan they shall make they payment of this mo-
ney whiche they be sette vnto/ they must fast and fare cursyd af-
terwarde/ the poore man and all his houshold/ and sayne for
to sell they bedde and they other thynges as good as for nou
ght. ¶ I wolde god that the kynge and the noble prynces of
Fraunce were well enformed of this grete myschyefe.

for then I wolde not doubte / for the grete noblesse that is in
they? blode / they wolde not suffre this grete hardenes and so-
towte amonge the people. But it happeneth often tymes that
there ben suche that be receyuours of this þ is gadered / whi-
che ben grete facte and ryche / and whether that all this good þ
is gadered come to the profyte for that þ it is gadered for / god
knoweth / and so knoweth other men. And without fayle yf su
che goodes be gadered for to be employed in superfluyte / & for
other causes than for pure necessyte lyke as I haue sayd befo-
re / it is grete synne to them that lette it / and a greuous hurte
¶ And nowe to the purpose that hath ben sayd here tofore of
the noble Romaynes whiche were paynymes & myscheuers
yet they gouerned them so well / that it ought to be ensample
to vs / as Valere sayth / for he telleth þ the lawe of Rome was
suche / that all maner of goodes þ were gadered for þ waste
sholde not be employed / but onely to the vse of that same / that
it was ordeyned to / and in no wyse to be dyspended vpon super
fluyte of estate / for superfluyte of wynes & meetes taken mo-
re than is necessary causeth the body more to delyte rest / than
the trauayle of the warre. ¶ Nowe I wyll leue at this tyme to
spoke ony more of this purpose / Notwythstondynge I coulde
say moche more / but for bycause that the sentence of suche ma
ters please not the euyl myndes whiche ben made ryche by
this meanes / and wyll also blame me therfore / I saye sayre to
them without boost lyke as Cryppydes that was a grete poe
te sayd vnto them of Athenes / whiche prayed hym þ he wolde
put out a sentence of a tragedy þ he had made. Tragedy vale
re sayth it is a maner of a dyte that blameth thynges that be
euyll done in ordre of polycy of the comonalte or of prynces / and
sayd he made not his dytes to blame ne to be blamed / but to
that entente that it sholde enduce & lyre men to good lyuynge
And yet Valere sayth more of þ same poete / that he wolde not

put hymselfe / suche wyse vnderstode that he wolde obey the sentence of the people and leue his owne sentence. And vpon this Valere sayth / for certayne sayth he sentence is to be alowed that is drawne and cometh out of reason. And sayth also that he that hath so grete reason maye Juge the trouthe of his owne werkes / that it be not done with prydde ne boost / but in suche wyse ye the merye of his thynge whiche he vnderstonderth is worthyfull and lowable. For he sayth / whoo sayeth another / he seeth vertuous / desyreth to hauch hymselfe prayse / for he cometh of one tale and of one lyke wysdome. 2 2 2 2

¶ Enlample of auncyent decres to the purpose afore sayd. Capitulo. xl.

Now to make conclusyon of that is sayd before / That is to wete that the good prynce sholde loue more the weale of his people than his owne propre / and that he sholde not serche moche by the goodes that be gadered for his synguler profyte / We wyll yet call the Romayns to our enlample and it be the wordes of Valere. The ryght worthy Romayne prynces sayth he had theyr herres so moche in the loue of the comon weale / and sette so lyte by theyr owne / that for very nede they myght not marry theyr owne doughters / but of the propre dyspences of ye comons / for they spared not so moche that they had wherof to gyue them so largely as accorded for theyr estate. And in lyke wyse when they were paste out of this worlde theyr herres and theyr obsequyes of the greteste of them / as of the worthy Publycyus / and also of Scypyo Asyatycquane / Whiche were passynge famous men. And also of other solempne conquerours / and other prynces of Rome whiche hadde rule of the comons goodes payde them / to the whiche all the comons were well assented / for the merye and contemplacyon of the

greete honoures and worshyppes that they had done vnto the
ryte before tyme. For the worshypfull men themselfe hadde no
thynge to make acounte of but onely of theyr greete and solem
pne actes whiche they dyde in theyr dayes. For thoughe so we
re that they were not ryche of the goodes of fortune / yet were
they ryche of the ryght greete and noble honoures whiche they
had deserued before tyme. Wherfore it semeth and true it is /
the moost worthy be not at all tymes moost ryche nor best for-
tuned to ryches / but fortune helpeth them by another maner
whiche is more worshypfull / when she helpeth them for to gete
soueraynte renowme and worshypp / for not withandynge the po
uerte of these worthy conquerours and noble men / yet were
they dyctatoures or consules that is as men myght saye Em
perours / or the moost soueraynte prynces whiche receyued ȳ
tryumphe glorously dyuers tymes / whiche was a meruay
lous greete worshyp that the Romaynes dyde to theyr pryn-
ces or soueraynes / whan they had wonne greete victoryes / as
it shall be declared here after what thynge the tryumphe shal
de be. For in thole dayes vertue was theyr ryches. And at
me the courage of men and women was ryght bygorous / a
who that was moost vertuous moost had of dygnyte for me
loked not after at that tyme what euery man was worthe in
ryches / but howe moche he was worthe in goodnes and cun
nynge / he was moost auctoryled that surmounted in vertues
Wherfore Valere sayd these sayre wordes. Suche thynges re
conforteth and Joyneth the astynyte of lordes / suche thynges
haue power within and without. For by this ordynaunce eue
ry man entended for the profyte of the comon welthe / and not
for his owne synguler welthe / seynge that the pryncs hadde
leuer be poore in a ryche empyre thā to be ryche and plenteous
in a poore countre. And therfore suche guerdon was graunted
to them ȳ the noble men were socourred by ȳ goodes of the co-

mons. And lyth we be entred in the purpose of these noble Romayne pynces howe þ they⁹ noble vertues myght & ought to be cause of ensample and myrroure to all good pynces & worshypfull men/yet Valere sayth. We wyll speke of another worshypfull consul/whiche was called Marcus Curynus/whi che was a grete conquerour/& gate many grete lordshyppes to the Romaynes. But on a tyme when he was at seege before the cyte of Samary/the lyges of þ same cyte reported howe this Marcus sate but in ryght poore estate at the seege/but of men of armes he hadde ynowe/but of vessell/of ryches/ne of vytayle he had no plente. Than anone they of the cyte sente messengers to hym with grete gyftes for they supposed to ouercome hym with þ/and the answere of hym Valere putteth in wrytynge for declaracyon of his grete constaunce & worthynes/& sayth Marcus Curynus whiche was a clere mirroure by the holy rule of attemperaunce & polysshed in vertues/ wolde þ the messengeres of Samary sholde se what meete þ he ete/& howe he sate vpon a fourme before þ fyre and was serued with lytell meates in treene dysshes/yet notwithstandynge þ he refused the gyftes whiche were grete sommes of golde & syluer & of ryche vessell. And he answered them and sayd/ þ he loued better to be mayster ouer ryches/than ryches sholde be mayster ouer hym/than hym semed þ he was mayster ouer ryches/in as moche as he refused it. But & he had receyued & taken/he thought hymselfe that he had ben ouercome. And remembre you ryght quod he/that Marcus wyll not be ouercome w̄ no gyftes/nor by batayle yf he maye. ¶ This Marcus Curyus was so worthy a man that he dyscomfyted the kynge Pyrrus whiche came to the seacoostes of the Cyte of Tarente ayenst the Romaynes/and the sayd Pyrrus had in his armye. xxiiii. thousande men on foote/and .xxvi. thousande men on horsebacke/of the whiche was slayne. xxx. thousande.

and there was taken .xiii. thousandes. And Pyrrus hymselfe
fledde in to Italy. The fyrste yere of his warres the Romay-
nes wanne moche good/but the worthy prynce wolde neuer en
ryche hymselfe/but gaue the good and parted it amonge his
knyghtes and his men of warre except that/that he sente to
Rome/there to be kepte for treasoure of the cyte/as for hym-
selfe/the worshyp sufficed hym/and wolde that other had the
profyte and the wynnynge. ¶ Also amonge other prynces Va-
lere commendeth the grete vertue of a worthy consule called
Fabricyus/whiche I haue spoken of here tofore/whiche sem-
blably was of so grete vertue that notwithstandynge he had
no ryches of fortune/yet he refused ryght grete & notable gyf-
tes ỳ the sayd kynge Pyrrus sente hym/hopynge ỳ he sholde
ouercome hym therby. And it was ỳ same Fabricyus of wh-
che men spake of the grete worshyp and lawde that the kynge
Pyrrus his aduersary sayd of hym/whiche was a worshyp-
full and a kayre worde when he sayd/that the Rome sholde ra-
ther lese his syght than Fabricyus his trouthe/for the physy-
cyan of Pyrrus came to Fabricyus and sayd vnto hym/that
and he wolde quyte hym well his labour/he wolde empoyson
his mayster. But this worshypful man answered/that suche
maner of conquerynge the Romaynes vsed not. And so toke ỳ
physycyan & sente hym to kynge Pyrrus/for the whiche boun-
te and vertue of his trouthe/he loued hym so wel that he sente
vnto hym/& sayd/that he wolde for his sake make peas with
the Romaynes/and wolde neuer greue them more/with that
that they wolde suffre hym to haue in peas that londe that he
had conquered of the Romaynes. But to that peas thys wor-
shypfull man wolde not consente in lasse than/Pyrrus wolde
departe from all the demeynes of the forsayd Romaynes. ¶
Then dyde this Pyrrus all his power for to drawe Fabricy-
us vpon his partye/and he with holde with hym/and when

he sawe þ he myght in no wyse gete hym/he prayed so moche his vertue þ he sayd he wolde neuer fyght ayenst hy̆ in a felde & yet were þ batayles redy/but he wēte his way vnto tarente ¶ And yet Valere speketh more of this Fabrycyus & sayth þ there was tolde in his presence how there was a philosopher i Athenes that sewe a leede vpon a maner of leuynge/in suche wyse that he sayd/that men sholde do no thynge but onely for theyr delyte/and for theyr bodely ease/and this worthy man dispraysed moche this doctrynes/and helde it for a folysshe and a dyshonourable conceyte/and sayd/that all maner of delytes and they were not labourous in vertue ought to be dyspraysed/not onely of the body/but as well of the soule? But they þ haue the good vertues and delyte in them/ben to commende? And his sentence was true as Valere sayth as it appered opēlyche for the cyte of Athenes that was wonte to be gouerned by the labour and study of wysdome and vertue/as soone as it was wrapped in delytes and lustes/lost his lordshyp/also the cyte of Rome as longe as it haūted þ vertuous exercyse ouercame and gate and surmounted all other lordshyppes/& how that Athenes lost his vertue hereafter ye shall knowe/yet to our purpose of the good prynce whiche loued the comon wele of his londe: ¶ There was a kynge in Athenes that was called Epamynydas whiche was a man of meruaylous grete vertue and helde his enmyes gretely vnder hym/and at the laste as he was in a batayle he happed to be smyten thrughe þ body with a spere/and when that he sholde dye/he had so grete Joy that he had ouercome his enemyes that his deth greued hym not: Then he sayd to them that were aboute hym/nowe hath the goddes gyuen me suche grace/that I may se my cyte of Thebes the chyefe cyte of Grece/and the grete and courageous cyte of Lacedemonie/is put vnder by our worthynes in armes/& I dye not without ayre/for I leue .ii. doughters

whiche Thaue begoten. And this he mente by two grete Cy-
tees whiche he had conquered. For he had no hayre of his body
but he vnderstode þ by the conquest of these two cytees his na
me sholde be alwayes had in memory / lyke as by the chyldren
the fader. This Scipyon does loued Iustyce meruayllously
well. The lordshyppes that he gate he gate them not for hym-
selfe / but for the encreace of his londe / for he was so lytell couet-
tous vpon good / that when he was deed / men coulde not fynde wherof to do his obsequyes. And also he was as lytell a bo-
ster / as he was a couetous man. And he bare his estate so tem-
peratly that nother of these poyntes was shewed in hym / but
they shewed by hym. This is to say that his vertue surmoun-
ted al other / the wynge outwarde. And the reason that he had
in his lyfe / he lost it not at his dethe as Valere sayth. For when
he was brought home to his lodgynge as good as halfe deed /
and his spyryte was comen a lytell to hym agayne / he asked
of them that were aboute hym / whether his enemyes after þ
he was felled toke his shelde fro hym or naye. And whan he
herde that they had it not / he was passynge Ioyfull / and ma-
de it to be brought vnto hym. And whan he had it / with a ma-
ner of mythe he kyssed it. And asked of the maner of the victo-
ry. And whan it was tolde hym / he sayd þ all thynges went
well. And anone he passyd out of this worlde / by the whiche de
the / the men of Athenes whiche often tymes hadde proued his
force and vertue / became ydell and were in reste / and were oc-
cupyed but with vanytees. For whiche cause they felle in too
myschyefe and dystruccyon. 2 2 2 2 2 2

Here after folowerth the cause why Valere is so grete
yaledged in this boke. Capitulo. xiii.

Be cause of the noble boke ꝑ the grete Va-
lere made of the worthy dedes of Romaynes
ꝑueth me matter to proue by enſample ꝑ clene
entencyon whiche I haboure in/ as it is ſhew-
ed here tofore/ in gyuynge cauſe to ſtyre cours
ges to bertue and good lyuynge/ as wel to pryncesſ knyghtes
and nobles as the comon people. I aledge hym more than ony
other auctoure. For the ſame Valere ſayth/ that bertue moue-
th a man more to deſyre honoure and worthynes/ and to here
good enſamples/ than dothe ꝑ ſymple and feble wordes. And
this wytnesseth Ayſtorle in ꝑ .x. boke of Ethyques. And ther
fore in ſhewynge the ſtyle of that noble auctoure Valere for to
encreace the courages of them ꝑ lyſt to here the werkes of ber
tuous doctryne/ by the whiche men gete bery worſhyp. I am
moued to ſhewe here dyuers enſamples of thynges that ben
fallen to dyuers worthy men in tymes paſſed/ for they deſer-
tes ſette in mynde in the ſame boke/ whiche gyueth grete plea
ſaunce to ꝑ noble courages of them ꝑ ſholde here it/ in truſtyn
ge therby to gete grete worſhyppes. For whiche honoures/ ber
tue is to be deſyred. For we ſe that honoure belongeth to all ſo-
lempne and excellente thynges/ as in cunnynge and bertue.
And for as moche as I call theſe Romayne prynces worthy cõ-
querours & other ꝑ may be lyke thẽ/ thoughe they be no pryn
ces/ nor may not be/ for as moche as they haue not ſo grete lõ-
des and ryches ſe. Neuertheles after the ſtyle of Valere/ It ys
ſhewed that the Romaynes reputed the gretneſſe of worſhyp-
pes & worthynes in bertue/ and not in goodes/ he calleth them
not onely prynces/ but calleth them in his boke Emperoures/
lyke as it appereth in dyuers chapytres/ as of Scipre/ Affry-
can/ the grete Pompe/ Sylla/ and other/ and yet were they
neuer Emperoures made.

Of ꝑ lyberalyte in pryncesſ & exãple of ꝑ Romaynes. Capitu.

Then we wyll confyrme our matter by approbacyons of enſamples longynge to the ſame tyme: to a vertuous good prynce vpon the ſeconde poynte of the thre thynges whi-che ben neceſſary to hym/ yͤ is to wete yͤ he ſholde loue yͤ comon weles. The good prynce whiche yͤ loueth the vnyuerſal goodes from his/ he ought to haue liberalyte/ for it is to hym a thynge paſſynge neceſſary/ as by the hauynge of that he ſhall be profy-ted in terrible wyſe/ That is to knowe for the welth of his ſou le/ yf it be dyſcretely done. Secondely to his grete honoure and renowne/ Thyrdly in that yͤ he ſhall drawe to hym as well the courage of his owne people as of ſtaungers/ for it is no doubte that there is no thynge that profyteth more a prin-ce thã liberalyte with dyſcrecyon. O howe moche dyde it ones profyte to yͤ Romaynes whã the legates of them of Cartage were come to Rome for to bye agayne they⁹ priſoners whiche were taken in the batayles & warres amonge them? For yͤ Ro maynes gaue al yͤ priſoners agayne freely to yͤ legates yͤ were ſente for them without payenge of any raunſome/ whiche were ryght worſhypfull men in they⁹ floures: And alſo of grete auctorite to the nombre of a thouſande ſeuen hundreth & foure and fourty/ wherfore Valere magnefyeth gretely this lybera lyte in thre thynges and ſayth: O lorde god ſayth he how mer uayllous a lyberalyte was it/ that they wolde let go frome thẽ ſo many grete enemyes/ and leue ſo grete goodes as they my ght haue had for them! I ſuppoſe quod he that yͤ legates that came for them had grete merueyle of they⁹ grete largeſſe/ then he ſayd: O the grete magnyfycence of Romaynes/ egall to yͤ hen ygnyte of goddes For that dede was more plentruous thã your enemyes couldе haue deſyred/ wherfore it is no doubte yͤ for bycauſe of they⁹ grete lyberalyte the Romaynes gate ma-ny lordſhyppes and dominacyons as many or mo than they gate by force of armes: For many ſtraunge countrees ſeynge

they⁹ grete fredome and wo⁹shypfull custome yelded them to the Romaynes/not trustynge to be made as seruauntes/but to be made mo⁹e free. And Valere wytnesseth the same/sayenge that the Empyre of Rome that is to saye/the lordshyp was not so gretely encreaced by the strengthe of they⁹ bodyes/as it was by the myght of they⁹ courages. And yet in more prayse of lyberalyte whiche ought to be in p⁹ynces/and also of they⁹ meknes/Valere sayth worde by worde lyke as Ffynde in his boke/that for they⁹ beaute & sub.launce there may not be gyuen to lyberalyte a mo⁹e conuenable cõpany thã humanyte and meknes/for they deserue one maner of laude/for lyberalyte is shewed to them that ben poo⁹e and nedy/and humanyte sheweth hymselfe to them that be in sykenes/and in p⁹yson/or in myscaie of they⁹ body. Meknes showeth hymselfe to them that ben fallen in myserye/in daunger/and peryll of they⁹ bodyes/or of they⁹ goodes/& ouer suche as he hath lo⁹de shyp and power to punysshe and to forgyue/wherfore myseryes for to pardon and alleuage the grete greues that they be in/be vnder the grace of the p⁹yncely wherfore euery good p⁹yncely is bounde/the vyl vile ony goodnes to heele his poo⁹e subiectes with grete compassyon/by the vertuous meanes aboue sayd/kepynge alwayes the o⁹de of Iustyce/not to rygo⁹ously/and specyally in suche thynges as be not contrary to nature. And thoughe so be sayth Valere that thou knowe not whiche of all these vertues is moost to be alowed/yet it semeth ỳ it is moost souerayne that hath taken his name of the godhede/& that he sayth is lyberalyte/whiche is as a vertu deuyne/& stretcheth to euery mã/for by that vertue men gete them moost frendes. And for bycause it lyeth more in ỳ puyssaunce of p⁹yncys than of other men for to be lyberall. And also that frendes and well wyllers is to theym a thynge passynge necessary/wherfo⁹e he sayth it is to them conuenable onely for ỳ encreasynge of they⁹

glory/ lyke as it is wrytten in Polycratycque/ in ỹ thyrde booke of the same in the xiiii. chapytre of Cyrus ỹ Emperoure/ wyche by his lyberalyte pourged the dyte of Auarice that was in his fader in suche maner that he was called of all men/ the loue and delytes of all mennes lygnage. And Tullyus sayth in the seconde booke of offyces. There maye be no greter dyte in a prynce/ for in hym that gouerneth the comon welthe then Cruelyte/ But for bycause that we saye so moche that euery good prynce ought to be lyberall/ It is necessary for to showe in what maner/ and in what thynges he ought to be lyberall Where vpon Senecke declareth in the seconde booke of benyfyces/ and sayth. The prynce or he that wyll gyue/ ought to vnderstonde and knowe the puyssaunce and the auctoryte of hymselfe that ys the gyuer. And after the state of hym that he wyll gyue vnto. That entente that he sholde not gyue a lesse gyfte than were accordynge to his honoure. Nor also a greter gyfte than were necessary to hym/ that sholde receyue it. And the prynce/ or the gyuer ought to consyder to whome and why he gyueth that gyfte. For there is a dyfference in gyuynge to a man that hathe deserued it/ from a man that the prynce lyst to gyue by his fredome and courtesye. For and a man haue deserued it/ the prynce ought well to se that the gyfte be suche that he be not blamed in no nygardyse/ nor in no cayptyfenesse/ and yet it must be done moche vpon the largesse after as the man hathe deserued it. But when the gyfte ys gyuen without meryte or deserynge/ thoughe so be that it longe to a prynce/ or other myghty persones to gyue grete gyftes as longeth to theyr estate/ yet maye they gyue lytell small gyftes to the poore and nedy persones. And this lyberalyte ought to be moderate by dede of dyscrecyon. As Tullyus hathe sayd here before. For lette vs suppose that the prynce or ony other be lyberall and in wyll for to gyue/ yet ought he to be well aduysed

howe he maye conteyne hym in vertue. Not onely as they ꝑ gyue
theyr goodes folely/and departeth yt without any ordre. For
the lyberalyte of theyr gyftes/ought to be of theyr owne goo-
des/and not of other mennes. For as sayth Aristole sayth in
the fyfte boke of ethyques. That maye be called noo lyberalyte
sayth he. When a man gyueth to one and taketh from another
For there maye nothynge be lyberall but it be Juste. And also
for as moche as it is sayd that lyberalyte is a vertue deuyne
whiche longeth to euery good prynce. ¶¶¶¶¶¶¶¶
¶ And trewely yt longeth to euery good prynce soueraynely
to guerdon euery man that hathe done hym good/and shewe
hym loue/and he ought not to take hede of the feblenesse of
the persone yf he haue done hym good seruyce/but to the grete
nesse of his estate/whiche maye ryght well rewarde hym for
hys good dede. Lyke as yt ys wryten of kynge Mary of Per-
sie. Not ꝑ same kynge Mary ꝑ ꝑ grete Alyrandre dyscomfyted
but he that entred in to the londe hyppe by a cawtelous meane
that he made hys horse to ney/for bycause that the ꝑynces
hadde made suche an ordynaunce. For when they myght not
accorde amonge theymselfe/whiche sholde be heyre vnto the
kynge and to gouerne the royalme. Then they made an ordy-
naunce ꝑ they sholde go forthe togyder erely in ꝑ mournynge
before the temple. And whose horse ꝑ neyed fyrst sholde be cho-
sen for kynge/as this Mary the nyght before made lede his hor
se with a mare in to the place where the assemble sholde be on ꝑ
morowe/as there the horse lepte the mare/as on the morowe whā
the horse came agayne in to the same place/anone he begānne
to ney. And soo this Mary ꝑ was chosen kynge of Perse. That
same Mary beynge in hys lytell fortune/a man that was cal
led Phylamytes gaue hym without any askynge a mantell
with hys good wyll. Not withstandynge that he was a ry-
ght grete negarde. The whiche mantell pleased meruaylous

greatly to Mary? Then it happened afterwarde when Mary
[illegible] kynge he [illegible] the grete courtesy [illegible]
had done to hym but gaue hym the cyte and all the yle of Sa-
mos. Whiche was a plenteuous and a good yle in the whiche
the philosopher Pytagoras was borne. But this kynge Ma
ry retened not the pyece of the mantell that was geuen hym
but onely the lyberalyte of the geuer / and the puyssaunce also
of hym selfe þ myght goodly rewarde hym for his kyndnes. 2
Callo Hyrtydates the paskynge ryche kynge / whiche reyg-
ned ouer .xii. countrees shewed grete lyberalyte & guerdon
to one of his knyghtes / whiche was named Leon yus for the
getynge hym out of pryson from the handes of his enemyes /
whiche had taken hym before in batayle / gaue for hym grete
noumbre of pryseners. For he loued better for to encrease his
enemyes than men sholde thynke that he wolde not rewarde
his men that had worshypfully deserued it.

¶ Of the humaynepyte in a prynce. Capitulo. xliii.

We haue spoken ynoughe of lyberalyte in þ good pryn
ce. And nowe we muste spake of other vertues longyn
ge to the same by lyke meryte and lawde / that is to
wete of humanyte & meknes / whiche ben necessary to be kno
wen with euery good pryncc / and for to proue þ it is so / we shal
shew it by exsãple. And fyrst of þ grete humanyte þ þ worthy
Romayne pryncr Lucyus Emylyus Publyus shewed vn-
to the kynge Charles whã he had discomfyted hym in playne
batayle / so victoryously that he was taken and ledde towar-
Lucyus. But when he vnderstode the byng ynge of this kyn
ge Charles. The worshypful man Lucyus wente ayenst hym
And when he met hym / he wolde in no wyse suffre hym to kne
le before hym but toke hym benygnely by the handes and toke

hym with hym armed in armes/and comforted hym & worshyp-
ped hym/and made hym enclyne with hym & his horde and in
his counsayle. Notwithstandynge ỳ kynge Charles was full
lothe therto/and wolde not by his wyll haue taken soo moche
upon hym. But neuerthelesse this worthy Lucyus entreated
hym as he had ben his owne brother. O what noble vertue is
it in a prynce for to ony worthy man of armes to be pytyous &
humayne to theym that they haue ouercomen and dyscomfy-
ted/as we may haue ensample of Hector of Troye of whom me
sayde there was neuer vpon more fyersesne more cruell in ba-
tayll than he was. But anone as he had ouercome his enemy-
es and meked them to hym/in yeldynge & cryenge hym mer-
cy. There was neuer lambe more meke nor debonayre than he
was/for he wolde entreate them as gentylly as they had ben
his brethernesby the whiche he was soo gretely profyted that
for his debonayrete dyuers people came and yelded them vnto
hym. And so this condycyon euery good prynce and worshyp-
full man ought to haue. But not as the lordes and other men
of armes doo nowe a dayes/when they conquere londes and
fortresses Cytees and other places/as sone as they be entred
in themit semeth as they were dogges that were famyllyed
for hongre/and without ony pyte of murdres and horryble oc-
cysyons of cryst en people/dyshonouryng the women and put
all to ruyne. Alas what hartes haue these people to do so cruel-
ly to theyr owne lykenes/whiche is ayenst nature and ayenst
the lawe of godwhether they be not aferde that the fyers de-
uylles of hell wyll rauyllhe them in to the eyre infernall/for it
is no doubte but they shall come therto at the laste ende. And
certaynly suche people ought rather to bere the fygure and the
shere of an horryble serpente than humayne and pyteous che-
re/for vnder the lykenes of man they bere the grete felony and
cruelte of a wode beest. But Marcus Marcellus whiche was

a pynce of Almayns and of grete auctorite dyde not so. /
for when he by his grete manhode hadde wonne the cyte of
Pyrcause whiche was a noble and a stronge Cyte/ whan he
was goten vp to the hyghest toppe of the castell for to se the for-
tune of the cyte/ and hadde consyderacyon of the grete thing
the that it was of/ and howe it hadde ben gouerned before tyme
with many worthy kynges/ and how it was wonte for to
haue grete power bothe by see & by londe/ & how it was wonte
fulfylled with grete sorowe and mysch yefe he had suche pyte
vpon the desolacyon of his enemyes/ that he wepte for sorowe.
¶ Yet ayenst them that ben so cruell and so vnnaturall ayenst
they? prysoners for bycause of Couetyse and for to constrayne
them to paye grater raunsomes than they maye gete which
is grete wrecchednesse to se/ here the grete louynge mocyons that some
that ben cruell and horryble men doyng to they? prysoners/ for
Sarasynes maye doo no worse then they doo. But and suche
handgremen dyde on good dethe me semeth that god and natu-
re dothe them wronge/ Neuerthelesse I doubte not but that
they shall be sore punyllyed therfore/ for god is Iuste. Yf for-
god/ so dyde not that noble and worthy prynce Pompee whi-
che was an excellente man of armes/ for he conquerred almoost
all the partyes of the oryente. But amonge all other when he
had subdued the kynge Cygram of Armanye/ and taken .xl.
thousande of his men/ and kynge Cygram was brought be-
fore hym all/ whiche toke of his crowne and sette it downe at
the feete of this noble Pompee/ and thought too haue kneled
downe before hym to hym full tenderly. This noble Pom-
pee wolde not suffre hym but comforted hym with all his pow-
er/ and at the laste sette hym agayne in his estate/ howbeit the
ouerlaumer of ? Almaynes for hym thought it was no grete
worshyp for to make kynges/ as for to put them downe/ and
vnmake them.

Of meekenesse and debonayrte in a Prynce

Capitulo. lxj.

Here before we haue spoken of the humanyte of the good prynce. And nowe we wyll speke of þ meknes that he ought specyally to shewe vn to his subiectes / in conforteynge and drawynge to hym the loue of his people / for without any doubte there is nothynge more swetter ne more fauourable to a subiecte / than for to se his prynce benygne and courteyse vnto hym / nor the prynce maye not soo well contente the hertes of his men and familyeres with his good / as he maye by his meknes and benygnyte wysely and discretely done / not that he sholde be so familyer / that men sholde sette the lesse by hym and haue hym in the lesse reuerence / but in kepynge of his honoure whiche of dewet ye ought for to be showed vnto hym of his subiectes / yet he ought benygnely to here and vnderstande theyr requestes and peteycons / and answere theym with fayre and sowe wordes. And for a lytell myssedede he is not ouer greatesyldayne agaynste none of theym / But the gretter and the hyther that a towre is the lesse it semeth by the cause of a lytell stone. Also in lykewyse ye shall vnderstande of Dyonisius that was Duke or kynge of Athenes whiche dyde a wonderfull dede / as ye maye vnderstande here after / he hadde a cruell frende whiche he loued entyerly and he was called Damyppus It happened on a tyme as they sate at theyr souper thys Damyppus was greately amoued with an ire and sayd many grete iniurpes and dyfamyes vnto Dyonisius hys lorde But his noble lorde sayd neuer an angry worde agaynste hym / But prayed hym taske that he sholde not be angrye. And that he sholde not aryse from hys souper with angre and wratthe. But this Damyppus was so greatly

moued with ire/that he spytted in his lordes byssage/but for
all that/this worthy prynce wolde not be moued with angre
in his courage/but without owe his chyldren whyche wolde ha
ue slayne this Translyppus/ and to auenge the hyghe magē
ste of theyr fader. On the morowe came one vnto this worthy
prynce & sayd/that Translyppus was as a man out of his myn
de for angre and shame of that he had done & sayd ouer euen.
And lyke to slee hymselfe. For the whyche Phyloctratus hadde
greate pyte. And anone came vnto hym and cleped hym/ and
comforted hym/and forgaue hym/and promysed hym by hys
fayth that he was & sholde be as well in his grace as he was
tofore; yet more of the good prynce Phyloctratus he had a fay
re ponge mayde to his doughter/and a ponge man that dwel-
led in the towne loued her soo moche that he was almoost deed
for her sake. Soo yt happened on a tyme that she wente with
her moder in the towne/and the ponge man that loued her soo
well mette her of fortune in the strete/ and he was soo ouercō-
me with loue/ that he myght not restrayne hymselfe/ but sō-
denly wente to her and kyssed her afore all the people. The mo
der of this mayde/ whyche was wyfe to Phyloctrate bolde ne
bes that this ponge man sholde be deed for that offence/ and
often tymes cryed her lorde thereto. But Phyloctratus an-
swered her agayne full pytteously and sayde. And we sholde ma
ke theym to be slayne that doth loue vs/ what shall we doo to
theym that doth hate vs. And this was a worshypfull and a
pyteous answere. Also of the worthy Pompey that ys spo-
ken of here tofore/ it is wryten that he was of soo greate ver-
tue and courage that he wolde not be lyghtely moued to angre
& he suffered pacyently many Iniuries and wronges that
were doone vnto hym by Enuyous people. For bycause that
he was soo curyous in Cummynge for too encrease the comon
welthe. But for all that/ he wolde neuer leue too doo well. 2

wherefore it appeth to be true that tullere sayth in his thyr-
de boke in the .v. chappetre of Sappence / where he sayth ꝑ
Sappence is force to force / that it semeth that it is borne of
her or with her. Yet may ye se another ensample of ꝑ ryght
vehemaye & the great kynge Pyrrus whiche we haue spo-
ken of dyuers tymes here tofore he was a mā of grete coura-
ge / and had many vertues he worshypped ꝑ good and honour-
table persones / as he shewed ofte tymes to ꝑ Romaynes
durynge the tyme of warres that was amonge them. So it
happened vpon a tyme he discomfyted ꝑ Romaynes / yet was
he neuer the more proude nor cruell apenst them / but as nowe
a dayes ꝑ men haue victory of theyr enemyes / they wexe so
proude that they can not knowe god ne man / whiche is a grete
folyshe for a man holde thynke that fortune dystrybueth ofte ty-
mes after his wyll / and gyueth victoryes to a man at one ty-
me / and at another tyme tourneth ꝑ whele. But this Pyrrus
for the worthynes that he knewe in the Romaynes wolde not
leue his noble. Notwithstondynge that he had the victory /
but wente apenst theyr enbassadoures / whan he vnderstode ꝑ
theyr comyne was for to delyure theyr prysoners & worshyp-
fully vitaylled them.

Cyet of debonayrete & howe fortune maye chaunge. Ca. xbi.

Yet the purpose of the wyse / Sekenes of the prynce.
And also howe fortune may chaunge in a lytel whyle
we haue ensample in that that befell to the sayd kyn-
ge Pyrrus / by the whiche we may conclude for certayne / ꝑ by
pryde a man is not enhaunced to good fortune. This kynge
Pyrrus was a grete warryour and a victorious man ouer
many other princes & kynges. And lyke as fortune dyde hel-
pe hym for to conquere & gete realmes & lordshyppes / in lyke

Tryple he moued and conquered hym for to lose them by greuous
discomfytures and fynally by batayle brought hym to hys
laste terme and that was the deth / for as he mayntened the
warre in many londes that he had gotten they of Grece were so
abasshed and soe a ferde of hym for the greate batayles that he
had made ayenst the Romaynes and ayenst the Carthagyne
ans that they wyste not well what for to do. And it happened /
he wente ayenst a cyte of Grece that was called Lacedemone
whiche was a cyte of grete renomme. But at that tyme it was
better defended and saued from dystruccyon by women than
by men / as Valere sayth / for in defence of the same countree /
there came so grete nombre of women / that of very force Pyr-
rus must nedes departe thens shamefully / and had one of his
owne sones slayne / whiche caused hym to take ryght grete so-
rowe & heuynes / and so fortune at that tyme was not his frende.
And whan he was parted from thens / he wente before the
cyte of Argos / and there he was slayne with the cast of a stone
& thus ended the kynge Pyrrus / whiche had tormented ma-
ny one vpon erth. Helanus sone of Antygone whiche was kyn-
ge of Argos made grete Joy for the dethe of Pyrrus and ma-
de smyte of the hede from the body & with grete Joy he brou-
ght it to his fadre. But Antygone lyke a wyse prynce blamed
hym for / that he made so grete Joye for / the dethe of so noble a kny-
ght as he was. And for because also / that he had no pyte / seynge /
grete inconstance of fortune whiche is neuer stable / & forthwith he
wasshyed / the hede / & tooke away the couerynge of his owne he-
de whiche was couered after / the maner of kynges of Macydo-
nye / with grete honoure couered the hede of Pyrrus / & made
take the body worshypfully out of the felde to be brought vnto
hym / forth withall he lete bury hym with grete reuerence &
made for hym worshypfull obsequyes after the vse & custome
in those dayes / as the sone of Pyrrus whiche was brought

hatyple and whan he was brente toke the asshes / & gaue the
to his knyghtes in a vessell of golde to bere home in to his owne
countree / and in lyke wyse also he dyde to Marcus Marcellus
whiche was slayne in another batayle for anone after ye
batayle he made cast ryche clothes vpon hym and brente hym
as ye custome was at that tyme / and set a crowne of laurer
on his hede as for a victorious prynce for not withstandynge
that he was slayne / yet had he wonne the felde vpon hanyball
But yet was the noblesse and ye courage so grete of ye worthy
prynce Hanyball ye he worshypped as well his enemyes when
they had ouercomen hym / as he wolde be worshypped whā he
had ouercomen them. Wherfore Valere sayth / that this humanyte gaue a greter voyce and lawde to Hanyball / than the
victoryes that he had wonne: For he sayth ye he ouercame thē
by the malyce of wrytche / and worshypped them by the courtesy and the meknes of Romaynes. ¶ ¶¶¶¶¶¶

¶ How a prynce sholde not be proude though fortune fauoure hym neuer so moche. Capitulo. lxvii.

For bycause we haue touched that no mā for no maner
of fortune that myght fall vnto hym sholde be proude.
And that it maye be exaumple to euery good prynce for to kepe
hym therfro / I will shewe you what Valere sayth therin / he
sayth thus / That ye Romaynes were conquerours for bycause that they were not proude when good fortune fell vnto them
lyke as some done that ben as halfe out of the yemynde for ioy
when prosperyte falleth vnto them. ¶ But the Romaynes he
sayth gate more in sparynge of them ye were ouercomen / than
is to saye in the goodly demeanynge of them that were taken
them by ouercomynge of them / And for to vnderstande certaynly that mannes good fortune blyndeth hym soo by pryde that

he can not knowe hymselfe/ nor vnderstonderth not the courte
of her playe/ and afterwarde casteth them downe in his hor-
ryble pytte/ It appereth among other ensamples by Hanyball
whiche was prynce of Cartage afore sayd/ For not withstan-
dynge that he had many good vertues in hym/ he rose in to so
grete a pryde for bycause of the bytterye that he had vpon the
Romaynes as hath ben declared here before/ that he dysday-
ned for to here any man spyke to hym/ but made other men spe
ke with the people/ whiche brought vnto hym reporte agayne
And he trusted so moche in his owne wytte and in his good
fortune & felycyte/ that hym semed no man coude shewe hym
nothynge but that he knewe it well ynoughe before/ Wherfore
on a tyme he desyred a wyse knyght of his whiche was cal-
led Maherbal/ that sayd and affermed howe he had adupted
by what maner of meane Hanyball sholde gete Rome/ & how
he sholde soupe the Capytole whiche was ye chyefe fortresse
of the Cyte/ but he lyste not to here it/ nor sette not therby/ for
hym semed that he was wyse ynoughe hymselfe/ for to gete it
without any lare/ but his thought begyled hym/ for he fayl-
led therof/ wherfore no prynce ought not dispayse to here other
mennes opynyons/ and specyally of suche as ben wyse men/
for there is no synge be it neuer so subtyll/ but mannes wyt
maye ymagyne the meanes for to optayne it: But the proude
man deygne nor enquyre/ For as Valere sayth/ felycyte at-
ter the comon cours wyll not suffre a proude man for to here ye
voyce of a meke man/ thoughe it be neuer so true and profyta-
ble vnto hym/ forecause he hath no moderacyon of attempe-
raunce/ So was the ende of this Hanyball as it is conteyned
in the Romayns storyes: For after that he had longe trauay-
led the Romayns by many grete batayles/ fortune tourned
so moche ayenst hym that at the ende he lost all his Empyre/
his men/ and his rodes/ and was compelled for to flee & hyde

hymselfe. But he coude fynde no p;yncc in ꝑ worlde that wol-
de vsurpe hym for fere of the Romayns ¶ wherfore cause he
fell in ydlenes and slewe hymselfe by p.n pyne that he spanke
And so this Hanyball dyed wretchedly ꝙwhiche was in his ty-
me one of the mantyest p;ynces and best lastumed in ꝑ worlde
as it is shewed in stor;yes. And therfore to our purpoles ꝙ wor-
des that was somtyme sayd by Solon one of the vii. sages is
worthy to be kepte ayenst them that weneth to fynde ꝑ haue kep-
yte by ryches honoure and delytes sayynge that no man
ought to calle hymselfe hyoule as longe as he lyueth in thys
worlde for we ben subiecte to fastune vntoour last dayes wh
che is chaungeable and doubtefull ꝙ by the whiche chaunges
it happeneth often tymes that the name of kyngys is taken
a waye fro we many creatures.

¶ How the good p;yncc ought to loue Justyce. Ca. xviii.

Me semeth we haue spoken ynoughe of the
matter of two of the fyrst poynts and of the
braunches longynge to the same vpon wh-
che the naturall p;yncc and not the tyraunte
ought to be founded vpon the fere of his gouer
naunce lyke as we haue promysed to speke of
here before. What is to wete howe he ought to loue and drede
god aboue all thynges. ¶ Also the secoude poynte that he shol
de loue and kepe the comon welthe of his londe more than his
owne p;yncc. ¶ Now we must speke of the thyrde poynte wh-
che is that he ought to kepe and loue Justyce where vpon we
must fyrst se what is Justyce ¶ after warde the maner howe
the good p;yncc ought to kepe it and what thynges be neces-
ry for the kepynge therof. And howe the olde auncyentes that
were well taught kepte it. And vpon this we will shewe some

enlaumples to ꝑ purpose lyke as we haue done here tofore. Ary
stotle sayethe / that Justyce is a measure that yeldeth to euery
man his ryght. And yet a man might declare more vpon this
worde after the dyuerse ryght vpon of the layd vertue / but for as mo-
che as I haue before this tyme touched this matter and spe-
cyally in the boke of dyuerse ryghtes / whiche is made of the wyse-
dome of man. I passe the more lyghtly ouer at this tyme for by
cause that I wyll declare you enlaumples accordynge to oure
matter. Wyse the good prynce ought to loue Justyce in suche
wyse / that for no maner of fauoure he breke it not. For the auny
ent faders before vs loued Justyce so well / that they wolde
not spare theyr owne chyldren. Lyke as it was shewed by an
Emperoure whiche commaunded / that what man that bra-
ke a certayne commaundement whiche he hadde made / sholde
lese bothe his eyen / For thoughe his owne sone fell in the case
he sholde not be pardoned of that same payne. So it fortuned
after warde that his sone brake this cõmaundement / and for-
the wt hall / he wolde haue doone this Justyce vpon hym. But
for as moche as that he sholde reygne after hym and he were
made blynde of bothe eyen / he semed to hym that he myght ne
uer gouerne well his subiectes / nor the comon welthe of hys
royalme. Wherefore he founde a remedy for to satysfye his com
maundement. And also that the ryghtwysenesse of his gouernaunce
sholde not be all taken from hym / but that remedy was ry-
ght pyteous / for he made to put out the one eye of his sone and
another of his owne. Thenne I saye yf they kepte rygorous
Justyce at that tyme / it is as moche to be lefte in the tyme that
longe ys. And more ouer I haue before thys spoken of suyll
dyuyllers / wherefore I wyll ouer passe now more shorte-
ly. But yet to the purpose of rygorous Justyce / the worthy
Romayne prynce / whiche was named Julius Postumus whi
che by his wysdome / grete hardynes / dyscomfyted a mayne

of people that were called Volques. But before or the batayle
belle he made crye and defende vpon payne of dethe that none
were so hardy to put themself in pres for to fyght nor depart
out of their lodgynge without p̄ licence of hym. This sayd
Iulius posthumus happened to go out of his hoost for certayne
matters that he had to do. And it fortuned that a felow of his
had a knowlege where certayne of his enemyes were lodged
and anone he toke certayne people with hym & caught with
them and dyscomfited theym. And when his lader was come
home agayne to his hoost and herde of this thynge anone he
gaue Iugement and sayd / that it was more harme for to save
the life of a man for dethe that breketh the lawes and comman-
dementes of p̄ynces than for to gyue hym the dyspleasure
of his enemyes and also for ensample to other men than
the dyscomfyture of a true people. And for the whyche he
[illegible]
he ought to haue. But perauenture what thynges be necessary vnto
hym for the same. And fyrst he must be purueyed of the counsayle
of trywhewyte & true counsayleres / and that they loue better p̄
ryche and worshyp of the p̄ynce and the welthe of the comons /
than they: auaryce singuler profyte. But I feere me that there
be fewe suche to fynde nowe a dayes. But and a p̄ynce haue
suche discrete men about hym he may well kepe the cetuite
of Iustyce and other particuler matters whyche shall encrease
and multyply hym in power / in myght and in ryches. Now
where is that p̄ynce p̄ may thanke a true counsayloure lutly
eyently enoughe for the grete goodnes that he may fynde in
shewynge of his counsayle yf he will byleue hym / Is ys not
the wed in the story of Romaynes that Scypyon Affrycan the
noble man whyche was of the noble lygne of these other Scy-
pyons p̄ were so worthy men of armes p̄ he notwithstandynge

that he lewed not the matters as these other dyde/yet was he
so wyse in counsayle and gouernaunce of the comon prouyte
that he dyde as moche by his wysdome as the others dyde by
theyr armes. For he taught so with his wyse reasons namely
ayenst some of ỳ myghty men of Rome/ that wolde haue put
vnder the Senat/ and also the comon welthe/ wherfore vale
re sayth of hym that he deserued no lesse thanke of the people
in his house/ then the other warryours in theyr armes/ for he
kepte the cyte from many greate mischiefes & moche good-
nes shewed them by his meanes. ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶¶¶¶¶¶¶¶

¶ What maner counsayloures a pryncs sholde take. Ca. xii.

Nowe we must aduyse/ among what people the
pryncs sholde chose his counsayloures/ for to be
well counsayled/ shall it not be amonge the yon-
ge men/ nay/ for they counsayled somtyme cuyl
the kynge Jeroboam/ and so haue they done ma
ny other. But he shall chose them amonge the olde
wyse men/ which be good men/ and well experte in counsayle
for they ben more redy to [illegible] good counsayle than the ponge
And of necessyte it longeth to a prynce counsayloure/ that he be
well aduyled of the matter that he [illegible] of/ or he gyue coun
sayle therin/ and that he gyue not to hasty credence thoughe a
matter appere fayre before hym/ vnto the tyme that he haue
wel proued the trouthe therin/ for at ỳ fyrst apperens a matter
maye shewe other wyse than it is in effecte. And Aristotle spe-
keth of the maners of the olde auncyentes in the booke of Re-
thoryke/ and sayth that they were not lyght of byleue/ for by
cause that they had ben often tymes defrauded/ wherfore they
wyll not lyghtly determyne a thynge in haste that is doubte-
full. But they wyll often tymes adiourne it to the nexte [illegible]. For

they haue sene it often tymes fall so in they; tyme: And there-
fore they be not redy for to gyue counsayle hastely. Also they
wyll not gyue no grete truste vpon a tyrell foundements / nor
vpon a tyrell enchesou; for they haue often tymes sene a thynge
fall otherwyse than they thought / Wherfore they wyll not gy-
ue hasty counsayle vpon grete emp;ryses / without grete ad-
wyse and delyberacyon. And al these thynges be comonly con
trary to yonge men. And also all other naturall thynges may
eth more in the olde man than in the yonge. But to say that al
olde men ben wyse. I wyll not say so. Aristocle sayth that
there ben two maner of ages / one is that that folowyth after
youthe / well enseygned / and well attempred / and this age Tul-
lyus alowyth gretely in his boke of age. The other age that co
meth after youthe / is that / that is vndyscrete & wauerynge /
this age is subiecte to many myserys / & is not worthy to be
recōmended. And therfore I haue sayd that the p;ynces sholde
chose his counsaylours of the olde wyse men. And yet to speke
more of them thought be so be that they haue not so grete bodely
strength as haue the yonge men / yet they may haue greter
vertue & dyscrecyon in counsayle / as I haue sayd before / wher-
eyn is more nedefull & profytable then the strengthe of the bo-
dy / In as moche as it is more to be alowed & is more noble / the
vertue of vnderstondynge & of dyscrecyon & knowlege / then
is the strength of the body / for after the wyse werkynge of cou
sayles of olde wyse men ben well sustayned & gouerned / boy
all magestees / the Cytees / and the polycyes / & the comon wel-
the / whiche often tymes ben cast downe by the yonge men / as
Tullyus sayth / as it appereth clerely in dyuers stor;yes. The
thought be so be that age taketh away the bodely strength / yet
it habounded in wysdome and vnderstandynge whiche thyn
ges ben moost to be alowed. And therfore aged men that ben
sory that they; youthe is past / it is a sygne that they be nother

wyle nor vertuous/for that man is not wyse that choseth not
the more profytable thynge/and why that men dyspraysle age
is for nothynge elles/But that it taketh awaye the wyll and
the delectacyons of the flesshe. And therfore age ought not to be
blamed/but ought to be gretely thanked. For in that it taketh
awaye the rote of all cuylles/For after the sayenge of Archyes
of Tarence that was ryght a grete phylosophre. There is no
greter pestylence gyuen to the nature of man/then is the wyll
of the body/of the whiche groweth treasons/subuersyons of
cytees/and of people/and defoulynge of women/and all cuyll
thynges/for there is none vnthryfty thynge but it wyll dra-
we it vnto the courage of man at some tyme/it is she that de-
stroyeth the Jugemente of reason/and putteth out the eye of
mannes lyfe. And also she hath none affynyte nor communy-
cacyon with vertues/So than it is more lowable for to chose
age then the dylectacyons of ỹ body/whiche ponge men glad
ly wyll not eschewe. Wherfore the olde men ben more noble &
set lesse by contrary thynges & reproues ayenst themselfe thē
the ponge men doone. As Aristotle sayethe in the. viii. booke of
Ethyques: And Tullyus speketh too the same purpose and
sayethe/that age is stronger & more courageous thā is youthe
wherfore Solan the grete wyse man of Athenes answered to
the Tyrante Pysistratus whiche asked hym howe he durste
be so bolde to answere hym so malepertely/he answered hym
and sayd/that it was by ỹ force of age/and this is conteyned
in the translacyon of Valere whiche I haue gadered out of his
bookes/somewhat goynge out of my tyrll processe that spek-
eth of Tullyus/to declare what counsayloures longeth to a
good prynce.

How a good prynce not withstondynge ỹ he be [illegible] & mekely ought to be dredde and doubted. Capitulo.

Of Justyce and wherof it ensueth/it is ryght well
knowen that yt longeth to a good prynce to pu-
nysshe or cause to punysshe ye cuyll doers/wher
fore I wyll leue spekynge of it at this tyme/for
bycause that I haue touched it here before. And
I wyll procede vpon that that longeth to the sayd good pryn-
ce after the trouthe of Justyce/and that he sholde yelde to euer-
ry man that belongeth vnto hym after his power. And yf he
kepe this meanes of Justyce/he may not fayle for to do ryght
in euery thynge/for yf he do thus/he shall yelde to hymselfe ye
is dewe. For it is reason that he vse ye same ryght that he wyl
do to euery man. That is to knowe that he wolde be obeyed &
doubted of ryght and reason as is accordynge to the magestie
of a prynce. For in what lõde or place that a prynce is not doub-
ted/there maye be no good Justyce. And howe that it longeth
to a prynce for to be doubted it appereth by the worthy man ye
was named Cleartus that was duke of Lacedemone/whiche
is a grete parte of Grece where were sometyme passynge mã
ly people. This duke whiche was a knyghtly man and a gre-
te warryour to that entente that his people sholde drede more
for to flee than to deye/sayd to theym in this wyse/that men of
warre ought rather to drede theyr prynce than ye deth of theyr
enemyes. For the whiche wordes/and for the greate Justyce
that he dyde vpon them that were cuyll and cowardes. They
abondoned themselfe without sparynge or fere ye they acheued
many merueyllous empryses/wherfore it is no doubte but ye
ye prynce ought to be doubted though he be neuer so mekely ne so
gētyll/for ye mekenes ought to be take but as a thynge of grace/
whiche euery mã ought synguleerly to take hede of/& not to yᵉ
ētente ye they sholde dyspryse theyr prynce for his grete gētyl
nes. And for this cause ye olde auncyentes paynted ye goddes of
lordshyp whiche was fygured lyke a lady & set vp fan hyghe

royall trone ꝫ in the one hande she helde a braunche of Olyfe
and in ỳ other honde she helde a naked swerde/whiche syg-
fyed that in lordshyp ought to be benygnyte and mercyfe also
Justyce/and myght. Then the good prynce as it is sayd befo
re sholde be gouerned by the olde wyse men/and yelde to euery
man that is his dewe. And also he sholde wyll that these good
and worshypfull men sholde be reuerenced for theyr merytes
and theyr good vertues after the sentence of ỳ wyse man whi-
che sayth. Be yse ayenst the balled man. For in olde tyme men
were wonte to do grete reuerence to the auncyent wyse men/
and namely they of Lacedemone whiche made many worshyp
full pleyes. And this came in by the introduccyon ꝫ the lawes
of Lygnegus theyr honourable ꝫ wyse kynge whiche he had
taught them. For he made many dyuers of them/whiche they
mayntayned longe tyme after. So it happened on a tyme that
an olde auncyent man wente to the Cheatre of Athenes for to
se the pleyes. This Cheatre was a place in whiche all the yon
ge men assembled in/for to proue theyr myght one ayenst ano-
ther/as in armes/or Justes/or wrastelynges/and all suche
other thynges. But none of all the other cytezyns of Athenes
wolde gyue no place vnto the auncyent man for to sytte in/So
he wente so longe aboute that of auenture he came where the
Embassadours of Lacedemone were set to se these pleyes whi
che were come in message to Athenes goodly yonge men ꝫ lu-
sty/ꝫ when they sawe this olde man come/they rose vp ayenst
hym after theyr olde custome and dyde hym reuerence and set
hym in an honest place among e theym. And whan the people
sawe this they cõmended moche ỳ good custome of the straun-
gers/and sayd among e themselfe/we wote wel ynoughe that
they dyde ryght/but we abode for too vnderstonde what the
straungers wolde do.

Thaue sayd howe the good prynce sholde worshypp
the olde wyse men and vse of theyr counsayle. And
for to vse the counsayle of wyse men? A knyght that
was Capytayne of the men of armes whose name was cal-
called Fynucyus sayd a fayre worde to this purpose as ma-
lere reherseth. For when he wolde go to yelde grace to Fabyus
of that that he hadde saued hym and his hoost/ he sayd vnto
his knyghtes/ fayre lordes sayth he/ I haue often tymes her-
de saye that he is the fyrste in the werke that can gyue good
counsayle of suche matters as ben for to do/ as the case requy-
reth. The seconde is he that byleueth the good counsayle.
But he that nother can counsayle/ ne vnderstonde good coun-
sayle/ he is of noo maner of profyte. And therfore fayre lordes/
we wyll sette alyde the fyrst/ that is to saye/ that we be not wy
se ynoughe for to gyue good counsayle/ for we haue noo suffy-
cyent wytte therto/ wherfore lette vs take the seconde/ that is
to saye/ lette vs obeye vnto Fabyus/ whiche is ryght a wyse
man/ and of good counsayle/ and soo they dyde. For the whiche
cause and counsayle he ouercame them in batayle/ for he was
ryght a wyse man. And yet to the same purpose/ that ys to
saye/ that Prynces sholde byleue and vse the counsayle of the
wyse men. The grete Valerycque sayth/ that euery man ou
ght to byleue hym that is experte in his crafte. That ys to kno
we that at the good prynce ought to take counsayle of dyuers fol
kes/ after the matters that he hathe to do with/ for as the gouer
naunce of Justyce/ & the dyuers thynges ꝑ may fall therin of
suche thynges as he ought not for to take counsayle of his mē
of armes/ ner of his knyghtes. But of the Regystres and cler
kes/ whiche ben experte in that scyence. And as to the feete of

ternes he sholde not take his counsayle of ȳ clerkes. And in ly
ke wyse of all other thynges. Lyke as Valere sayth of Quin
tus Scenola. That not withstondynge he was ryght a grete
Begyller and a shrewe of ryght / yet whan men come to aske
hym counsayle of certayne customes of the offyces of Rome. ȳ
he sente them worde that asked hym the questyons to Fur=
nes / or to Thalelanus / whiche were experte in the same custo
mes. Not withstondynge paraduenture he coude as wel haue
tolde yt hymselfe. But he wolde that euery man sholde entre=
mete or medle of that Scyence that he had gyuen hym vnto
without more. For the whiche sayde Valere sayth / he recom=
mended more the auctoryte in that / that he wolde not take vp=
on hym other mennes offyces / then for the gretnesse of his wyl
dome / And this is ayenst them that wolde be aboue all other /
and medle of euery thynge by [illegible] and pryde. ¶ Howe
a good prynce sholde vse the [illegible] of wyse men for to kepe
Justyce and doo equyte to hymself / and to all other. Fyrste he
must take hede that the se men that be commytted by hym in
to offyces / be not corrupte ne defouled / nor of euyll lyuynge.
And that his Justyces be not fauourable vnto one partye mo
re than to another. Lyke as it hathe ben touched here tofore /
And also that he spare noo more the greate than he doothe the
smalle. ¶ And for bycause that comonly there is shewed mo=
re fauoure to the ryche than vnto the poore / whiche is ayenst
God and ryght / Peter [illegible] Orchasus [illegible] Philosophre lyke=
ned the lawes vnto Coppewebbes / that the Spyder maketh /
and sayd. That the Coppewebbes take not the greate Flyes /
nor the greate Hornettes / But it taketh the lytell Flyes / and
feble Butterflyes and letteth goo the grete / that often tymes
breketh them and flyeth thrughe / Soo in lyke wyse it is of
the Lawes / For the greate and the myghty breketh them of=
ten tymes and passeth thrughe them without any feere.

but the poore be taken and trapped. And this cometh comun
ly by the falle couetyse of them that sholde mynystre Justyce
And therfore the wyse man Senecle sayd/whiche was of gre
te auctoryte in the cyte of Athenes & ryght vertuous. Tul
lius wytnesseth in his boke of offyces/ that it behoueth to hym
he sayth that medeleth of Justyce/not onely to haue his hon
des and his tongue close/but also well his eyen: This is to
vnderstonde that a man sholde kepe from receyuynge of gyf
tes that corrupteth the Jugementes of man: Also that he ke
pe hymselfe from ouer moche language/ and frome the incon
uenyence of the flesshe. For the comen people taketh hede anone
to the lyfe of Juges/and of grete people/for by them they take
ensample of theyr lyuynge. 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2

¶ Howe the good prynce ought to take hede vpon the rewle of
his offycers. Capitulo. Lxxii.

FOr bycause we be entred in the purpose howe
the good prynce ought to be dylygent for to ta
ke hede vpon the rewle of his offycers for by-
cause that in offycers may be grete preiudyce
to the welfare of the royalme/for of a lordshyp
and by them is often tymes gyuen grete blame to prynces for
theyr mysgouernaunce/and ye prynces not knowynge of theyr
rewle/ we wyll somewhat holde this matter more at longe in
showynge good ensamples whiche ben expedyent to our pur
pose. ¶ For bycause nowe a dayes men make no grete electyo
on in regarde of vertues & of wysdome for as moche as they
sette men in royall offyces and gyue them power of Justyce
and to gouerne the people whiche be not able/but that they be
put in by fauoure and helpe of lordes/and frendes/it were mo
re necessary that this custome were amended/and ye sholde

ble the custome of Romaynes/ In suche case as here after fo-
lowethe/ ¶ It is to knowe as Valery recyteth in the. vii. boke/
Whiche is called Repulses by the. v. chapytre/ that the Romay
nes whiche gouerned souerayntly the comon welthe of theyr
Cytes/ And for to accomplysshe all theyr thyngis in ordre and
reason/ they had a maner that from yere to yere they chaūged
the moost parte of theyr offyces/ And they dyde so for bycause
that they sholde take heede of theym that they dyde not amysse
whyle they were therin/ lest they sholde haue ben punyssched af
terwarde? And also to that entente that they sholde not ware
proude in theyr offyces/ Wherfore all the lordes of Rome assem
bled togyder ones in the yere/ That is to knowe suche as had
power to gyue the offyces/ in a place that was called/ the felde
of Mars/ And as it was accustomed there came grete & smal
for to aske offyces/ suche as longed to his faculte/ And euery
man had a proyre habyte of whyte/ and euery man put in the
re his requestes of ỳ offyce that he desyred/ And for bycause ỳ
ỳ lordes wolde be dysceyued to gyue offyces to suche men as
were not worthy to haue them/ they had ordeyned a certayne
men that were wyse and discrete for to enquyre of the demea
nynge and the good lyuynge of theym that asked the offyces.
And they sholde bringe in by wrytynge howe they hadde ben
gouerned before tyme in theyr offyces/ yf so were that they had
ony before that tyme? And by this meanes they receyued suf-
fyche men as were able/ And they that were not able/ they refu-
sed them boldly/ And wolde god ỳ men wolde do so now a dayes in al countrees/ for by suche meanes euery man wolde pay
me hymselfe for to do well/ and for to gete hym a good name/ so
at that tyme after ỳ exercyse of theyr vertuous werkes/ men
were put in to theyr offyces/ and not after the faucure of lorde-
shyp and frendes? And soo by this it is shewed that for the go-
uernaunce of ỳ comon welthe/ certayne men ought to be cholen

and ordyned in euery estate after the offyce þ he sholde medle in/ as it is shewed here tofore. That is to knowe for the feate of knyghthode/ the men of armes and suche as longeth to that faculte. And as for the clargy studyantes in sciences speculatyues & in artes lyberall as well as in other/ as Tullyus sayethe. And in this the prynce ought gretely to put hymselfe in deuoyre for to worshyp and the glory of the royalme/ encreaseth gretely by the haboundannce of of clarkes and of wyse men/ For by theym lyke as I haue sayd byfore the prynce maye be well counsayled. Wherfore Platon sayd lyke as Boece telleth in his fyfte boke of consolacyon that the goodes of the comon weelthe were gracyous when they were under the gouernaunce of wyse men/ for elles that the gouernoures of prynces wolde study in wyldome/ for by theym meanes all the comonte sholde be brought in/ to obaye the lawes and þ rewles of reason. And lyke as I haue often tymes sayd. It were a couenable thynge to put awaye the presumptuous men/ whiche wolde be honoured/ and be not worthy therto/ for that entente that the good & worshypfull men myght be honoured and receyued in to offyces/ whiche sholde cause theym that ben presumptuous for to amende themselfe/ and by suche extymacyons the good were deserued from the baddeslyke as it was ordyned by the studyes of cunnynge.

¶ The goodnes that falleth to a prynce for to byleue the counsayle of wyse men. Capitulo. xxiii.

Et sewynge to the same matter by good proues that the good prynce ought to loue them/ we will speke of the greate goodnelle that cometh therof. and maye come to wyse men/ suche as ben solempne Phylosophres in speculatyfe/ As es wryten

that Archymenydes the philosophre kepte the Cyte of Syracuse/that ye sholde not be taken by the Romaynes. ¶ And by wysdome and subtylyte he made suche instrumentes that the strokes of Engynes myght not noye ne hurte the Cyte/ yet at the laste the Cyte was wonne. And whanne the prynce of the hoost was within the towne he commaunded that no man sholde slee that philosophre/ but as the men of armes wente aboute to pylle the towne. A knyght happened for to come vnto the house of this Archymenydes. And there he founde hym wrytynge figures vpon the erthe/ lyke as these Geometrycens and Astronomyens doone. Then this knyght asked hym what he was/ and he gaue hym no wordes to answere of his demaunde/ for bycause that he was so sore sette vpon that thynge that he made/ gaue onely that he sayd. I praye the hartely that thou trouble me not/ of this thynge that I make/ but he forthe withall slewe hym. ¶ And for to speke of this Archymenydes he was a greate Mathematycyen/ so moche that some sayethe that it was he that founde fyrste the squarre of the cercle/ of whiche Aristotle speketh of in his boke of predycacyons. Thoughe soo be he sayethe that it is a thynge that maye be knowne and lerned/ yet not withstondynge ye was well lerned in hys tyme/ Also some sayth that this philosophre sawe by hys Astrologye howe he sholde dye/ and tolde it before or he dyed. ¶ But when men asked hym why he wolde not departe frome that place where he sholde dye/ he sayde that the moeuynge of the heuen helde hym so faste that he myght not flye nor departe frome that place where he was in. ¶ Wherfore ye shewed that he was in the same opynyon/ that the influences of heuen dyspute a man to that/ that shall falle of hym. ¶ For the whiche cause a manne maye see/ that there is noone soo good nor soo greate a clerke in the worlde/ but in some thynges he maye erre and be disceyued. ¶ For this

may not be true as to the operacyon of the soule whiche may
werke at his owne lyberte and myght/for notwithstondynge
ony maner of inclynacyon of heuenly influence/the may chose
what parte that she wyll. As Aristotle proueth in his boke of
Ethyques. And in that ye maye perceyue and vnderstande ye
partyte reason and knowlege of Aristotle. For Theologye de-
termyneth playnely vpon the feerte of our fayethe/that the wyl
whiche is free/maye not be constrayned by no maner accyon.
For and it were so lyenne and vyce myght be somewhat excu-
sable/for as moche as the inclynacyons of man myght be con-
strayned by force. But as to the body it maye be true that in
some thynges man is subiecte by his byrthe to dyuers accyons
of the heuens aboue/as in the foure kynde qualytees. That is
to knowe/in heete/in colde/in dryness/and in moysture. For it is
not in power of man but in the somer he must haue heete/and
in lyke wyse of all other. But in that that the body is subiecte
vnto the soule/That is to knowe of the lyberalyte of free wyll
I saye ye heuenly influence hath no dompnacyon nor lordshyp
thoughe so be that it may be true ye the heuenly accyons gyue
to man many inclynacyons. As a man may se polyte lechc
ry/or other naturall fryynges/yet notwithstandynge that a
man maye caste vpon his heede a bridell of arette in suche wy
se that he shall withstonde the dedes of all suche inclynacyons
And to proue that this maye be true saythe Tholome whiche
was a grete astrologyen the wyse man he sayth bathe dompy-
nacyon ouer the power of the sterres. And to proue that this
sentence is true it appereth by that ye is wryten of Aristotel
that by his nature sholde haue ben an euyl condycyoned man
but by his grete vertue he became a passynge wyse man and
a temperate and well maneredAnd in this wyse he surmou
ted nature.

¶ Howe the olde wyse men were gouerned by phylosophres
Capitulo. I xxiii

TO our purpose/ it is to knowe that ỹ good prynce shall be gouerned by wyse men. And also that he sholde not repugne ayenst the scyence of Astrologye in notable persones/ but that they be called to the strayte counsayles of princes/ lyke as it is proued here tofore by Aschymonydes the phylosophre whiche by longe tyme lawed the Cyte of Cyracuse/ frome the hondes of his enemyes. And semblably as it is shewed i many other storyes. But the good prynce ought well to be ware that he stablysshe not hys partyculer maters by them that semeth wyse/ and be not/ for he maye be abused by suche men/ as vnder ỹ shadowe of cunnynge maketh them selfe wyse/ and be not so in dede. And suche men often tymes begyleth the princes and the leye people also/ by theyr cautelous dyscyplyne. But when it is so that this scyence resteth in a good man it maye gretely profyte in the kepynge of Cytees and of royalmes/ and to the augmentacyon of the pure. Notwithstondynge that dyuers men repugne agaynst suche men/ and saythe that they sholde not be of the counsayle of princes: for as Aristotle sayth thys Worlde that is here benethe/ is gouerned by the actyon of heuenly bodyes. And Tholome sayth that the dysages and the fygures of this worlde here benethe ben subiectes to the dysages/ and the fyguracyons of the heuens aboue: Then and it be true that all these wrytynges speketh of/ as touchynge the mervayllous thynges/ that the olde phylosophres dyde in theyr tyme/ Wythout onlayle whothat myght haue many suche men aboute hym/ it wolde seme that he sholde be well counsayled. For it is not to thynke that so many of our auctoures

f. iii.

that were of olde tyme wolde wryte lesynges. Neuerthelesse it is to vnderstonde that no prynce sholde take no suche philosophre that vseth the arte that is defended by the chyrche. For in that lyeth to greate peryll. And also he sholde not suffre the ne susteyne theym in his londe for there maye fall ouer many inconuenyentes therof. For I speke of none but of suche as be parfyte Astronomyers (whiche scyence of Astronomye thoughe so be that it is ryght hyghe and passe all other in subtylte yet it is pure naturall. And without cuyll arte) but for the dyffyculte therof (that is to knowe) for the greate subtylte that is therin there ben but fewe that is substancyally founded in the sayd scyence. And for that cause many men blame it. For they can not vnderstonde nor comprehende it in theyr mynde lyke as it is sayd comonly. They that ben ygnoraunte in thynges soonest wyll blame it. But for to knowe that there haue ben men parfytely experte in that scyence. Arystotle telleth in the fyrste booke of Polytykes of a Philosophre that was named Thales (whiche on a tyme his frendes mocked hym for bycause that he occupyed hym soo gretely in studye and was soo poore that he hadde no good. And when they hadde argued ynoughe ayenst hym. Then the sayd Philosophre thought that he wolde shewe theym the vertue of his cunnynge. For he dyde soo moche with a lytell money that he hadde (that by the meanes of his scyence he gate grete good on the nexte yere folowynge. For he vnderstode by his cunnynge that the same nexte yere Olyues sholde take greate Worthe. Where vpon he employed his lytell money (for at that season they were grete chepe) and soo for a small some he bought grete quantyte of Olyues whi che he solde the nexte yere folowynge as dere as he wolde. ---

And soo by that meane he gate greate good. Wherfore Aristotle sayth he shewed his cunnynge to his frendes (to that intente that they sholde vnderstande that it was but a lyghte

thynge to a ꝑpylosophre to be ryche and he wolde / But he ended not to suche maters / But onely to haue the good vnderstondynge of the wyse gouernaunce of aboue. ¶ And yet to this purpose. There was a nother Astronomyer that was called Spyrorynya / whiche by his scyence shewed before at Rome of the dethe of Julyus Cezar a good whyle before or it felle / Wherupon it happened that when it drewe nyghe the terme and tyme whiche the sayd Spyrorynya hadde sette that Julyus Cezar sholde not passe. / The sayd Julyus sente for Spyrorynya and sayd vnto hym / Wotest thou not wel quod he that the Ides of Marche ben almoost passe. He answered hym agayn and sayd / Wotest not thou well ynoughe that it is not fully passe yet. So it happened that the laste day of the thyrty dayes / Julyus Cezar was slayne in the Cappytole at Rome / by the meanes of Brutus and Cassyus / and by dyuers other Senatours that gaue hym more than two and twenty deedly wondes. As Orose wytnesseth in the .vi. booke of storyes / whiche sethe was meruaylous and pytyous of soo hyghe and so noble a pryncc as he was to be so heuely murdred and slayne.

¶ Howe it longeth to a pryncc for to be wyse and prudente in eloquence. Capitulo. I xxb.

The as we haue sayd that it is necessary for a pryncc for to be a good Justycere / And that in lyke wyse also he sholde drawe vnto hym for to be aboute his persone the wyse Philosophres. Eyght soo it is expedyent that he hymselfe be wyse and somewhat instructe in Sciences / So that he haue an vnderstondynge & knowlege in them. Of the whiche purpose alayn sayd Salete

wryteth and sayth that lyke as the scyence of Astronomye is
ryght profytable for the comon weithe and specyally in bataye
le for the grete study of Hupicyrus C...us and the grete vn-
derstandynge that he had in all maner of letters / he saued his
people from sodayne fere. For as he ledde a grete hoost ayenst
the kynge of Perce / it happened vpon a fayre nyght / the mone
lost her lyght sodaynly / that is to wete / she fell in a clypse / by
the whiche lyght / the grete hoost that he ledde felle in a grete
fere and in dyspayre that they sholde wynne the bataye. ¶
But this Hupicyrus ryght wysely shewed them the cau-
se and mouynge of heuen / and alluced them certaynly seynge
that it was nothynge elles but the naturall courle of kynde. ¶
In lyke wyse it is wryten in the story of Alysaundre that for
suche a cale his hoolte was greatly abasshed and made a ma-
ner of stryuynge with hym / saynge that it was a punysshyon
for the euyll dedes that he hadde doone. But the wyse knyght
that was called Aristanus / whiche was a grete Astronomy-
er / satysfyed them by his wysdome / and sette theym in reste. ¶
And vnto this purpose there maye be wel alledged Charles
the wyse kynge of Fraunce the .v. of the name whiche was so-
ueraynly gouerned by cunnynge and loued synguleriy phy-
losophres / that occupyed the scyence of Astronomye. And he
hymselfe for the grete loue that he hadde vnto that scyence / he
laboured so moche that he was ryght well vnderstanden hym
selfe therin. And that it sholde be conuenyble to a prynce that
he ought to be wyse / it appereth by the sentence of Platon. And
Valere recorded the same. For he sayd that the worlde was
greacyous at that tyme / that the wyse men begynne for to reyg-
ne / or elles when kynges begynne to were wyse. ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶
And lyke wyse as knowlege is one of the membres of scy-
ence / in lyke wyse it is fyttynge to a prynce that he be experte
in fayre language set by grete wysdome / ordynary reasons

that it is noo doubte but the wyse and fayre worde dyscretely
sayd tourne oute of the mouthe of a prince is more prayled
and gladyer herde than the wordes that he shewed of other
men/And also it maye ryse hym greetely in dyuers causes.
For there is not glaue so greete hardnesse of courage/but that
fayre langage the make it softe and temperate/lyke as it
is wryten of Phylotetus/for he was so eloquent a man/that
notwithstondynge that the men of Athenes whiche were go-
uerned by wyse philosophes/and were customed to lyue in ly-
berte/and without crayne/that same by his fayre and swe-
te langguage dyde soone/notwithstondynge that the wyse
man Solon holde greatly with lyberte/and ayenst the opyny-
on of this Phylotetus/yet by this fayre langguage was he
made prynce and soueyne of Athenes. Also by dyuers ensam-
ples to the purpose/here maye well be shewed howe that often-
tymes fayre eloquence helpeth greetely/ But with fayre elo-
quence whiche by the ordre is called rethoryke/Valere toyne-
eth thereto y maner of doynge of y body in veteraunce of his
language/& sayth/ Men eloquence is condyted with a good
ordre with the ordyne mouynge of the body/it pleaseth the
heerers/by three maners/for it comforteth the courages of so-
me men/and the grete of other men/And also it tendereth and
maketh lowete to thought of dyuers peoples/and byside he say
th/it pleaseth the courages whan by conuenable mocyon of the
body he that speketh vyolenteth the thynges/and bryngeth
ageyne to mynde the perylous fortunes/or the infortunes/
the vertues/the dyces/the ensamples of stronge and myghty
men/or elles the effectes of counsayles/by the whiche thynges/
the courages be brought in/by the consentynge of the spekers
Secondely the grete the heerers ben reioyced for/by cause of
the grete pleasure & plesaunce by his conuenable promocyon
goodly modred. The tyrde it pleaseth the eyen of the yn that

pon the heerers in as moche as they coulpoze and se the goodly countenaunce and honest behauynge of hym that speketh/soo by this meanes eloquence is honoured and worshypped. And in lyke wyse in the contrary where eloquence is myssle conpyted/it is of lytell vertue/and full vnsauoury to the heerers and for ensample of suche thynges Valere speketh of one that was named Gaynius Gracchus/Whiche lerte his study as moche in goodly mouynge of his body whē he spake as he dyde in his fayre vtteraunce of langage. Wherfore men wylle not whether it was more hope to them for to here hym speke/ or elles to se his goodly demeanynge in his countenaunce. ¶ Therfore Valere sayth/the syght shall be to the wyndes to the heerer/or of the spekers/and the wordes serueth to the syght of the heerers.

¶ Howe it is a couenable thynge to a Prynce to behaue hymselfe goodly. Capitula. xxvi.

WIth the fayre speche and honest mouynge of the body it accordeth well for a prynce to haue a fayre facou/ worshypful porte/and goodly countenaunce. And also there is a thynge that pleaseth moche ye people when they se a prynce kepe his estate/so that it be not done with grete pryde/but in goodly wyse/for to mayntayne his estate. For it may pfyte hym gretely that can condyte it naturally. That is to saye by good moderacyon. Lyke as it is sayd of a wyse man/ that was named Pericles/whiche haue spoken of here before/that he was of a noble facunde and goodly demeanynge. And by his wyse langage he brought vnto good reule the Athenyenses. Notwithstondynge they were ryght troublous & of full euyll dysposeyon euen after his owne dethe. ¶ And

sethen that it falle the purpose for to speke of the kayze ka-
rolde that longeth vnto prynce forth with the kayze porte & lad
countenaunce and by demeanynge of his persone/in spe-
kynge of pleasaunt and ordynate language/lyke as we fynde
by ensample of dyuers straungers. When me semeth it
is ryght/that we fayle not to remembre our noble prynces
of Beaunce/and nat suche as we haue seen/and seeth day
ly with our eyen/but suche/hyghtull and ryght excellent in the
same maner of kayzerolde lyke as was the moost illustre
wyse and dyscrete kyng of Beaunce Charles the fyrst of that
name that hath ben seen of here tofore/whiche without fay-
le by his grete vnderstandynge it was a grete pleasaunce to
se how he goodly he gouernayned his estate. And also to here
his goodly and eloquent language/And whether it were in
counsayle or in ony other matters/he wolde declare so notably
his reasons that he lacke no poynte to sette his prempses
in kayre and dewe ordre. And wolde departe his matters
in dyuers poyntes/as the cale requyred. And after warde
conclude to hys entent ryght nobly/lyke as he full honou-
rably declared before Emperoure his vncle when he was
at Parys/where he wed all alonge before the counsayle of
the one and the other wronges done vnto hym by the kyn-
ge of Englonde/for wolde begynne the warre/lyke as Iulius
cesar sette all alonge/the booke of hys actes/and of hys good
maners/whiche he wryed. And it ys declared in the thyrde
partye of the same booke towarde the latter ende/ [illegible]
¶ And of thys ryght noble eloquence of language without
ony fayle/his ryght excellente sonne Charles Duke of Or-
launce. Lyke as euerman knoweth/hys a meruayllous
thynge to here hym speke in counsayle/or in ony other congre-
gacyon too vnderstande how he wyll brynge about that he
wyll saye by so good ordre/that the solempne Ambassades of the

vn pueryte of Mary (whiche ben grete Methoryens whan they were before hym meruaylled gretely therof. For and he purposed fyrst ony queſtyon or ony thynge that he wyll speke of he wyll fayle no maner poynte of noo waye that longeth to his termes ¶ nor he gyue ony answere to ony other perſone thoughe the matter were neuer ſo straungely purposed before hym for dyuers concluſyons he wolde not fayle to drawe vn to his mynde all the pryncypall poyntes & clauſes of the matter: ¶ and ſoo to answere vpon euery artycle ſoo properly to the poynte (that euery man that herde hym wolde blysſe hymſelfe for the grete meruayle that they ſawe in his retentyfe wyt and alſo of his fayre rethoryke forth with his fayre facunde & mouynge of his perſone ſoo well accordynge to his fayre language Wherfore he myght be well comprysed to the olde notable auncyentes before tyme. ¶ Alſo the ryght excellent duke of Burgoyne Philyp whiche was brother to kynge Charles aboue ſayd and vncle of the ſayd Dames ſouth with the grete wyſdome and vnderſtondynge that he had was a prynce that had fayre and diſcrete language and facunde whiche was grete pleaſure to here Wherfore I cõclude after myne adwyſe that ſuche fayre facunde and goodly language thoughe ſo be that it fall to ſome men by nature more thã to other whiche ben wyſe men yet it is fygne of a good vnderſtondynge & a ferme thought and a ſtedfaſte courage whiche longeth too euery grete prynce and worſhypfull man. ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

¶ Howe euery good prynce ought to be dylygent to occupye hymſelfe in the neceſſytees of his londe or Royalme.

Capitula. ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶ xxbii.

REturnynge agayn to our matter as touchynge the .xxii. poynte afore reherſed. Where vpon the good prynce

that sholde kepe hym sholde founde hymselfe vpon in pur-
suynge of the same must se what thynges ben moost pro-
pre to hym for to do hym to good lyuynge seynge all maner
of vertues ben dewe to hym/whiche were to longe a thynge
to declare in euery parte Wherfore we wyll spake more gene-
rally in suche wyse what the good prynce ought to be occupyed
hourely in vertuous werkes / Notwithstondynge that suche
folkes as haue but lytell knowlege semeth that a prynce shol-
de haue all reste and no labour/but lyue in ease/ in delytes /
worshyppes/seynge that he hath mynystres ynowe to occupy
all maner of offyces but certaynly it is not so For truely the
se is no man that charge lyeth so sore vpon as it doothe vp-
on the prynce. For sythe our lorde hath establysshed hym in
office of lordshyppe charged in euery poynte/ yf he be wyse
That is to saye he ought to haue good knowlege of the gouer-
naunce of his mynystres For and there be ony faute in them
the faute shal retorne to the prynce and to his negligence as
wel to the soule as the body Then for as moche as there ben
many perteyneles in his londe [illegible]
the ben out of nombre [illegible]
ydell. How ought a thynge is it in a prynce for to be well
occupyed and [illegible] And in lyke wyse to all maner of
people Boethe semelleth the sayenge of a worshyppefull
[illegible] sayd that the warres of Rome profyted
more to the Cyte than ydle peesnesse: For many worshypfull
royalmes came to vertue by good exercyse And by gre-
te reste brought in ydelle and myschyefe And to the purpose
that the occupacyon and the dylygence in warres ben neces-
ry and profytable the gouernaunce of the yonge people of
the londe Saue certaynly sayth he to be in the labours
of the warres which an horrible name / it actuallyseth and
fortifyeth and kepeth estate the walles of our cyte of Rome

And rede/whiche is a swete and a softe name hathe fulfylled
our Cyte of many dyuers dyers. And to this purpose Ius-
tyne sayth in his fyrste booke that when Cyrus the kynge of
Perce had at the last conquered them of the royalme of Assyde.
whiche alwayes rebelled agayns hym/he consydered that by
no maner of meanes he coude not fynde so good a meane for to
bryngе them vnder as to let them in pleasure & delytes. And
by that meanes he thought to bryngе them in ydelnesse & ease
of theyr body/where vpon he cõmaunded them that they shol-
de vse noone armes/And commaunded also that they sholde
vse al maner of playes and dysportes/whiche was couenable
to playe for money. And also that they sholde vse themselfe
to marchaundyse/and all maner of suche thynges as longed
not to the warre/but that they sholde lewe all maner of eases.
And so these people whiche before tyme were manly and wor-
shypfull in armes were softe and delycate as women. And
soo by delycatesse and ydelnesse they were conquered/where as
before they coude not be conquered by no meanes of the warre.
And to this purpose a worshypfull Romayne knyght whi-
che was named Quyntus Metellus shewed a good reason/
as Valere sayth. For when the Cyte of Cartage was destroy-
ed by the Romaynes/whiche cyte and londe of Iustyne that
some tyme was so chyualrous and noble had trauayled and
warred the Romaynes by longe tyme/this sayd knyght sayd
before the Senatoures that wyst neuer whether the conquest
of Cartage were more profytable for the welthe of Rome/than
and it had not ben conquered/For that conquest toke away
Hanyball whiche was a worthy knyght/by whose comynge
in to Italy the Romaynes put themselfe to labouree gretely in
armes/& to the exercyse therof whiche before tyme were ydell
and full of slouthe/And nowe it is to doubte for as moche as
they be delyuered of so egre an enemye/lest they wyl lose theyr

bertus agaynst slepe and be yoell as they were to fore. ¶ Also Vegece wryteth in the thyrde boke of the good duke/that is to knowe a gentylman ought rather desyre the tyme of warre/then tyme of peas. For the rest causeth the knyghtes & men of armes to wexe colde in theyr dedes/and to be ful of slouthe. And exercyse and trauayle in armes maketh them harde and lyght and full of courage. - - - - - - - - - -

¶ Howe the good pryncs ought to loue and worshyp his knyghtes and gentylles. Capitulo. xxviii.

Because that we maye not shewe all our matters togyder at ones/ we must delay the one after another/ wherfore the noble knyghtes and gentylles maye greatly mervayle that haue redde this booke hytherto. - - Howe the good prynce sholde gouerne and rewle/lyke as I haue deuyded this werke in thre poynctes as is before rehersed. And that I haue remembred the estate of knyghthode lyke as thoughe I sholde do it for ygnoraunce/for elles that I had forgotten the honour/the goodnesse/and the good loue that the good prynce ought synguler ly haue to them. But for myne excuse herof fauyn theyr reuerence I saye certaynely that it was not done nother by ygnoraunce/ nor by the forgetynge to shewe the knowlege nor the dygnyte of theyr reputacyon/but it was onely for kepe the conuey of my booke to that entente that I myght speke the more worshypfully of theyr auctoryte. And for bycause also that our matter and our purpose hath condyscended vnto the tyme of bataylle/we wyll shewe howe the good prynce ye he wyll ryght and Justyce/that is to knowe, he must yelde vnto euery man after his power/that is dewe vnto them/worshyp vnto them/and gyue them goodly rewardes. /

Laufryquant ſche put in ſubiecteyon all Aſtryke and the
royall cyte of Cartage/whiche was noble & worſhypfull/And
alſo the grete Pompeye/whiche conquered many dyuers royal
mes/Julyus Cæſar alſo/ and many other that were notable
conquerours/ for tyme that they retourned agayne to Ro-
me after they[illegible] victoryes/The Romaynes had ordeyn-
ed a certayne houſe whiche was called Trybomphe for the
worſhyp of they that were prynces/ and vnder that fourme
they entred into [illegible] after they[illegible] victoryes/And Iſo
dore ſayth/that was a very dewyce for ſuche prynces/Then
it is aſked a queſtyon what maner a thynge is a Trymphe
[illegible] that it was called a Trymphe of Tryp-
[illegible]e is to ſay/And of Ruphon. that is to ſay his power?
For who that ſhall haue the name of Trymphe he muſt ha
ue it by meane of the Jugementes/ And the fyrſt that ſholde
be Juges in theſe/ſholde be the noble men of armes/ whi-
che were preſent the ſame victory. For they vnderſtode the
dedes/wherfore they myght beſte Juge in that matter/ The
ſecunde was/they was brought in by wytynge to the Se-
noures/that is to ſaye to the pryncis of Rome/whiche were
of the grete counſe that gaue the Jugemente whether they
had deſerued the Trymphe or nay/The thyrde was the con-
ſentynge of the comyn people/And when all theſe Jugementes
were gyuen/there was ordeyned a paſſynge ryche chayre
of golde nobly arayed/And then all the people of the Cyte ſhol-
de go out ayenſt hym/ that ſholde haue the tryumphe euery mā
rychely arayed after hys faculte/The chayre betokeneth wor-
ſhyp and glory. And whan they mette with hym/the pryncis
ſalued hym with grete reuerence/and all other people generall
ly dyde ye ſame/As he had ben ſo ye he had foughten hym ſelf/
they crowned hym then wt a crowne of Palme/yt ſo were ye he
had wonne the feld/for the palme hathe pryckes in hym ſelfe.

And he that had wonne the felde with wysdome and strength
also without grete losynge of his people he sholde be crowned
with a crowne of Laurer whiche smelleth swetely & is euer
in vertue/and this was the moost proper Tryumphe and the
moost Joyfull victory/for after the opynyon of Plodore. that
victory is not Joyfull where ỹ prynce loseth moche of his peo
ple. And therfore Salust sayth/and commendeth moche these
prynces that wynneth the victoryes without shedynge moche
bloode of theyr people/to to our purpose before ỹ chayre of hym
that shall haue the tryumphe all the prysoneres that they had
taken sholde goo before it. Amonge whiche often tymes were
greate kynges/and myghty prynces/And also the greate so-
mers charged with golde and rychelle/whiche they brought
to be layd: in the treasoury at Rome. And nexte vnto the chay
re wente these men that hadde borne theym moost worthely in
the batayle/and hadde moost tokens of victorye. The tokens
of victory were proper Jewelles of dyuers guyses/whiche we
re gyuen to them after the dedes that they hadde doone. For he
that hadde foughten in batayle and ouercomen his enemye.
there was gyuen hym a proper Jewell/whiche was ordeyned
for the noones. Also yf ony man by his manhode entred fyrste
in to a castell by the meanes of assawte/by whiche the place
was wonne/he sholde haue another maner of Jewell. ¶ Also
yf a man hadde foughten in a myne honde for honde/or doone
ony other good feate of armes/there were Jewelles ordeyned
for theym. And soo for the for all other dedes of armes. ¶ And
yf soo were that one hadde wonne a Cyte/there sholde be gy-
uen vnto hym a crowne of golde. And for other dedes of armes
Some sholde haue Collers/Some Cappes/Some Gyrdel-
les/Some Garters/Some Braceletes of golde. And soo for
euery feate of armes were proper Jewelles ordeyned for the no
nes. And yf they ware theym not vpon theym/they sholde be

greetely chalenged therfore. ¶ And thus the Romaynes dyde for bycause that other sholde take ensample. And also that mē sholde knowe that they that ware theym dyde it not for noone auaunte ne for no pryde in as moche as they ware them by cō-maundement of the soucraynes. And also the berynge of them was a greate worshyp for eucry persone by that myght se the worshyp and ꝑ manhode of eucry man. And he that dyde best was moost worshypped ouer all where so euer he wente. But there durste no maner of man were no suche Jewell nor no de-uyse lyke vnto the same but onely they that had wonne theym by they manhode. Wherfore yf it were plesynge to our blessyd lorde Jhesu I wolde that Englonde whiche is one of the no-blest royalmes of the worlde wolde vse this custome. And thē I wolde thynke that there wolde be many moo worshypfull men than there be. ¶ And soo these men that were moost wor-thy in armes wente nerre the Chayre. And the prynces of Ro me wente euen syde by theym. And the people of Rome wente all before. And the offycers nerre them after they estate. And after the Chayre wente all the men of armes whiche had ben at the byctorye. And these men were greetely worshypped and feested with the Cytezeins of Rome. And vnder this fourme they wente all in to the Cyte.)))))))))))

¶ Howe the good prynce ought to flee Lechery. Ca. xxix.

Man lyke as it is sayd the good prynce and the bery Justycre sholde not be ydell nor ouer moche in delytes. Anon lyke wyse he sholde flee Lechery. For the auctours sayth. Idelnesse is the nourysshe of fleshly lust. Whiche is greetely to be reproued and spe-cyally in prynces. And it maye be cause of they puttynge dow ne fro me they prosperyte. ¶ And also yt shall sounde to they

grete dyllame/and too many other inconuenyentes/ Whereof we haue enſample of Sardanapallus whiche was kynge of Aſſyrye and loſt his royalme ſhamfully for ſuche cauſes. Alſo a kynge of Fraunce was dryuen out of his royalme for the ſame. And thus men may tell of many other. ¶ Alſo Valere ſayth to the ſame purpoſe/ þ there was a cyte in Campaygne that was named Capue: whiche habounded gretely in delytes and ſpecyally in luſtes of the fleſſhe/ by the whiche Hanyball & all his hooſt were corrupte and enuenymed. For Tytus Liuyus recyteth in the thyrde booke of the thyrde decade/ after þ tyme that Hanyball had atcheued dyuers and many grete batayles in Italy/ he wente to kepe his wynter at Capue. And in ſuche wyſe there he was wrapped in delytes and aquayntaunce with women and caſes of his body. What with Wynes and meates/ and ſolaces/ whiche was not ſo accuſtomed before tyme/ nor his hooſte nother/ Wherfore after that tyme they were neuer ſo egre for to ſuffre the grete trauayles/ nor hardneſſe as they dyde before tyme/ Wherfore Valere ſayth/ þ this arrourc that he dyde take awaye clerely the ſtrength and the courage of his knyghtes whiche was wonte to conquere and ouercome his enemyes/ to his grete laude and worſhyp. For after the tyme that he kepte not þ olde diſcyplyne of armes whiche he was accuſtomed to kepe before tyme/ he wente all backe warde. Wo Valere ſayth that he yſſued out of that Cyte/ another maner man than he was at the entrynge of the Cyte/ yet Valere ſayd more that the grete ryerneſſe and cruelte of Affryke and Cartage whiche myght not be ouercome ne conquered by armes/ was beſed and put downe by þ meanes of delytes/ by þ whiche Hanyball and his hooſt were put vnder/ For whiche Valere ſayth. O what thynge may do more harme ſaythe he/ than the wyll & the delytes of þ fleſſhe by þ whiche vertue is put out/ & vyces brought to nought/ & as touchynge the

victoryes of Hanyballe. Iunius maketh mencyon in a pystle ỳ he sente to his frende that was called Lucyll / sayenge in this wyse. The nourysshynge of champaygne hath made lose the dedes of Hanyball. For he conquered by armes / But he was ouercome by lechery. And to this purpose ỳ wordes that Valere sayth of the worthy prynce Scipam ynydes may be wel vnderstonde to ỳ same entente. For after the dethe of ỳ sayd prynce the Athenyences began to fayle of they⁹ vertue and of they⁹ strengthe / For whan they had lost hym ỳ often tymes brought them forthe to ỳ warres / and to many grete batayles. Anone after they became yoell and slouthful / and spended not they⁹ good vpon men of warre nother by see nor by londe / as they were wonte to do. But they bestowed they⁹ goodes vpon feestes and playes / and tourned ỳ worthy deedes of they⁹ auncyetres vnto songes / and that suffysed them ynoughe to recorde & talke of the warres / but they wolde not occuppye them themselfe / For whiche cause the grete renowne of Grece fayled and was extynct vnto the tyme of Philyp fader to Alyxsaundre whiche brought them vp agayne.

How the good prynce sholde kepe hym selfe fro angre. Capitulo. xxv.

For bycause Ire is a naturall thynge / & draweth hate amonge grete & puyssaūt men. And at some tyme causeth grete cruelte / it lyketh me to shewe some good ensample ỳ the good prynce sholde eschewe ỳ same vyce as a thynge ỳ sytteth hym full nyghe / and not accordynge to his estate. As Valere sayethe of the same vyce / lyke as thoughe he spake to prynces in this wyse / often tymes the men / & specyally those ỳ ben grete and myghty doth grete cruelte in they⁹ feruent angre. And for to gyue you a clere vnderstondynge of ỳ qualytes of

these two passyons / he putteth a dyfference bytwene them and
sayth / þ Ire & hate resemble in as moche as they be bothe vyo
lent & full of trouble in courage of hym þ is angry & hatefull /
and causeth hym to desyre vengeaunce / yet he sayth there ben
many dyfferences bytwene theym And so sayth Aristotle in
his seconde boke of rethoryke. But it suffyseth at this tyme for
to speke of .ii. of them. The fyrst is after þ tyme þ þ angry mã
is auenged vpon his angre / he is satysfyed / and wel appeased
& wyll purchase no more cuyll ayenst hym þ he is venged on.
But the enuyous man wyll þ vttermoost dystruccyon ayenst
hym that he hateth / for he can neuer be satysfyed / but euer en=
creaseth more & more in his hate. The seconde is þ angry man
wyll shewe hymselfe wrothe to hym that he is at debate with
as who sayth I wyll be auenged / nor he wolde not þ the other
man had noo harme because that he myght doo it hymselfe. ¶
Therfore the angry man sheweth his angre openly & not pry
uely. But the hatefull man loueth better for to noye another se
cretely than openly / wherfore hate is worse than Ire onely. And
me thynketh also that Ire may be without hate / but hate may
not be without Ire. And for bycause that suche inconuenyen=
tes styreth a mã to cruelte / there is nothynge more to be repro=
ued in a prynce than Ire & hate / yet more for to withdraw this
vyce from the good prynce / it pleaseth me for the same purpose
to recyte after Valere the daungers & myscheues of þ same. ¶
Thoughe soo be that suche thynges haue ben accustomed & /
yet is in dyuers royalmes / thanked be our lorde and the laude
and glorye be gyuen to hym / our prynces of Fraunce that ben
of the royall bloode ben ryght clene in suche matters. And as
me semeth more clene than other that ben of lower estate of the
same royalme / or of any other nacyons / whiche is gretely to be
commended in that noble bloode. ¶ For Valere sayth certayn
ly that the habyte of cruelte is horryble / all thynges that lon=

geth therto ben full of manaces/ and cruell commaundemen-
tes. And yf a man wolde stryue hym to leale of his cruelte/ or to
holde his peas/ then shall he be the more chaffed/ for cruelte dy-
deth no payne/ nor he wyll not be refrayned. Also the cruell mā
wyll be doubted & dradde/ & other men hateth hym naturally
For he layth that cruelte is a dyspolycyon that is lykened to
the conuersacyon of hatrede/ vnto the whiche vyce euery man
is enclyned naturally. As Aristotle layth in the fyrst booke of
Politykes/ that al thynge ỹ is ayenst natural inclynacyon is
by nature hatefull. Then I wolde that all these thynges shol-
de be myrroures to a pryncē that he sholde eschewe the daun-
geres of theym. And semblably to all other persones. For lette
vs suppose that a man be naturally enclyned to these vyces/
yet and he can not be lorde and mayster ouer his courage and
ouercome it/ it is a sygne that he is not vertuous. And a man
without vertue is not worthy for to haue worshyp. ¶ ¶ ¶¶

¶ Howe it is lefull that the good pryncē after his grete
laboure for to take recreacyon of some dysporte. ¶¶¶¶
Capitulo. xxxi

To that entente that the effecte of myne entencyon/
maye be more clerely vnderstonde and that I sholde
not be founde with none errour in my present wry
tynges/ in that is wryten here before/ ỹ at all tymes
ỹ good pryncē sholde be occupyed/ semynge that by
my wrytynge ỹ pryncē sholde be put in to an extreme charge
of occupacyon/ whiche is not myne entente/ I saye that ỹ pryn
ce and semblably all other that be charged with grete and no
table occupacyons/ ought at some tyme seale of theyr labour
and reste in ydelnelle. ¶ And for because that Valere speketh
notably vppon thys purpole/ whole wordes bene more of

auctoryte and more worthy than myne. ¶ Wyll thenne you his sayenges whiche folowith after. ¶ He sayth there be two maner of ydelnesses of the whiche the one of theym ought to be eschewed at all tymes. ¶ That is it by the whiche all vertue banysheth and maketh holy lyfe impotent from all good werkes and maketh a man enclyne to the lustes of the flesshe and sensualyte. ¶ And of this ydelnes Ouyde speketh in his booke þ whiche is called the remedy of loue. sayenge in this wyse þt þ put awaye ydelnes frome the the artes of the god of loue ben perysshed. ¶ The other ydelnesse as I vnderstonde it is without vyce. ¶ And it is a vertue in tyme of lyfe at some tyme and it is at some tyme necessary for the recreacyon of noble and excellent persones for attemperaunce and ease of theyr body to the entente that they sholde be the more quycke and more strange in theyr labours afterwarde. ¶ For by moderate ydelnesse the naturall vertues ben refresshed and made the more strange in theyr werkes. ¶ Wherfore Valere sayth. who that hath no reste at no tyme maye not longe endure. ¶ Where vpon Valere sheweth an ensample of Scypyon and of one Lelyus whiche were worthy knyghtes in theyr trauayle. ¶ And they were so familyer togyder. and so grete loue betwene them. that lyke as they felawshypped togyder in þ warres and in grete trauayles. in lyke wyse they wolde alway be togyder in theyr reste. ydelnesse. and in theyr recreacyon. ¶ For in certayne tymes they wolde playe togyder in honest and goodly playes. whiche was to them grete comforte after theyr labour.))))))))

¶ Howe the good prynce whiche vnderstondeth hymselfe that he dothe his deuoyre in all vertues ought reasonably to desyre laude and glorye. Capitulo. 5 5 5 c c c 55 1 xxxiii.

Now we it is tyme that I make an ende of the fyrst parte
of my boke whiche specifyeth of introduceyon of prynces
in vertuous lyuynge. For I myght sonner stoppe a grete pyte
full of derkenesse then to reherce all the good vertues that lon-
geth to a prynce. But to speke generally of all vertues, these y
haue shewed here tofore ben sufficyent ynoughe for to eschu
we prolyxyte as me semeth. For what prynce that foloweth y
vertues before reherced with al, perteyneth to the, there my-
ght be longe suche a cõge by hy of laude & glory, lyke as was
ones of y noble & worthy prynce Themistocles, for as it happe
ned on a tyme there were brought before hy lyngers & sayers
of auncyent geestes. Of one of his knyghtes asked hym in dyl
porte, what myght he be that coude synge a songe y myght
be agreable to hym. He answered and sayd, that man that co
de synge truely y I were vertuous & that I had done at ony
tyme noble & good dedes. Lo a prynce that is wel condycyo
ned, is worthy of laude and glory, but not he that is of euyll co
dycyons & setteth not by vertue. Neuertheles he y seketh hym
selfe worthy in vertuous & good condycyons it is no nuysaylle
thoughe he wolde be somwhat worshypped therfore. For it is
well knowen lyke as auctours recyteth, and a man may well
knowe by theyr worthy dedes that the ryght excellent prynces
and worthy men in tyme past were ryght coueytous for to ha-
ue worshyp. And for to gete worshyp by vertue it is lefull. For
it appereth naturally that euery thynge desyreth his perfec-
cyon. And as the phylosophre sayth, glory and honoure engen-
dreth reuerence, whiche is a shewynge that may is made for
to haue dygnyte. And this desyre is so rooted and ioyned with
nature of man, y euery man is desyrous to haue it. But euery
man wyll not do the payne for to gete it. And by what meanes
a man ought to laboure for to gete lowes and pryse the phylo
sophre sayth it must be gotē by vertuous operacyons. For by

none other waye there maye be no ryght glory. And thus wyt
nesseth Tullyus in the fyrst boke of offyces for what that euer
ony man saye/euery man ought to be worshypped for the cau
se of vertue and good lyuynge/for honoure/laude/and glorye.
of this worlde is not a lusfycyent rewarde for vertuous lyuyn
ge and vertuous dedes. For Arystotle sayth/ ꝑ vertuous man
may lefully delyre a rewarde for his good dedes. For bycause
that by the meane of his vertues/other men maye be called to
semblable goodnelles. And it is good ryght Tullyus sayethe.
For vnnethes there is ony man but after his grete/aboures/
and paynes that he hath suffred/but he wolde delyre glorye &
worshyp/for a parte of his rewarde. And for bycause of the ho=
noure and glory/Arystotle sayth in the thyrde booke of Ethy=
kes where is founde and proued that the strengthes/and the
grete courages of the vertuous men for theyr worshypfull de=
des were gretely worshypped/and the vycyousnelle of the vn=
worthy men haue ben dysprayled and blamed. ¶ But Socra
tes sayd ꝑ they had chosen the waye to come to worshyp/ wht=
ther were suche in theyr dedes as euery mā wolde beholde hym
selfe. That is to knowe for to be good/wherfore the same So=
crates amonyssheth playnely by this predycacyon ꝑ men shal
de kepe ryght and vertue within them/then the semblaunce or ꝑ
aparence without good dedes/ben lyke as ypocrytes do. Soo
the good prynce that wyll gete paradyse and glory/& loues of
this worlde/must loue and drede god aboue all thynges. Also
he must loue the comon welthe of his londe more than his own
ne propre. Also he must kepe Justyce without backynge the sa=
me/and to yelde to euery man his after his power/lyke as Ju
styce requyreth. And than he dothe lyke a lyberal and a meke
prynce/as it is rehersed here tofore. And in doynge this wyse/
he shall not gete onely the glory of this worlde and the lyfe he=
re/but he shall gete it perpetually/for his good deserues/Lyke

as Tullere sayth of the ryght excellent prynce Julyus Cezar/ that for the merytes of his good dedes was reputed after his dethe as a god/ for the men of olde tyme whiche had not the ryght fayth as we haue nowe/ whan they sawe a persone were it man or woman that passed another in ony soueraynte of grace/ they had opynyon that suche excellence myght not be had/ without vertue dyuyne. And for bycause that the sayd Julyus Cezar had with hym many excellent vertues/ and amonge all/ he had with hym souerayncly Justyce/ and mekenesse. They sayd that suche vertues myght not be perysshed/ by the rysynge away of mannes lyke/ but that he was deyfyed in heuen for the same. — — — — — — — — — —

Here endeth the fyfte parte of this booke.

Here begynneth the seconde parte of this booke whiche is
dyuyded to the nobles and worthy men And the fyrst chappytre
speketh howe the nobles occuppe the place of the armes and
hondes of the body of Polycye. Capitulo. xxviii.

Seynge the matter after the conclusyon of our pre-
myses (whiche speketh to prynces for the contra-
cyon too mayntayne yu ryge (whiche we take for the
heede of the ymage of the body of Polycy (lyke as
Vulcarque wryteth here tofore) it behoueth vs to

recorde parte of this present boke to speke of the armes and p
hondes of the sayd ymage/by the whiche after the sentence of
Dulcarque be ordeyned the nobles and knyghtes and theyr
estate/ whiche we muste nowe folowynge oure style treate of
theyr introduccyon in vertue and good maners/specyally the
feate of knyghthode/whiche is taken & deputed for the sauke-
garde of the comon welthe as auctorres sayth. And thoughe
so be that one maner of vertue be proyre and necessary as wel
as to nobles/knyghtes/and to other people/as well as to pryn
ces/ yet for as moche as there is dyfference and maner of ly-
uynge and cõuersacyon in dyuers werkes/we muste somwhat
put a dyfference in the matter/for dyuers thynges longeth to
a pryrce for to do/whiche longeth not to knyghtes/ nor to other
noble men. And there be some thynges that knyghtes and no
bles may do/that the pryrce maye not do! But it is no doubte
as touchynge all maner of vertues they longe as well to kny-
ghtes and nobles as they do to pryrces. For it is to know that
it longeth to the knyghtes & nobles as well to loue god & dre-
de hym aboue all thynges/and also to take hede of the comon
welthe/for the whiche they be ordeyned and establysshed and
to kepe and mayntayne Iustyce after theyr degree as well as
the pryrce. And to be lyberall and pyteous/and to loue the wy
se and good men/and gouerne them by good and sad counsay
le/and lyke wyse all other vertues/whiche for theyr persones
I thynke not to reduce the here agaynst/for it suffyseth ynou-
ghe the reherce of vertues whiche I haue shewed here tofore.
*For this that is sayd before may serue to the purpose of eue-
ry estate and of euery synguler persone touchynge the soule
and the vertues: Wherfore I wyll not procede moche more vn-
der this fourme. For it suffyseth me without ony more to sha-
we the maner and the fourme that longeth to euery man to su
che ordre as god hathe called hym to/ that is to wete/ the noble*

men doo as noble men sholde doo/ the comon people also suche thynges as longeth to thē in suche wyse as maye be referred in one body of polycye to lyue I vnderstande whyle good vertues foloweth this body/ it may neuer fayle. Nowe wyll I frohens forwarde begynne my matter. And lyke as at the begynnynge of the fyrst parte of my boke. I take of ꝑ mance of introduceyon of pryuces chyldren. I wyll shewe nowe howe the noble auncyent mē enduced theyr chyldren/ lyke as it is wryten of theyr dedes.

Howe the noble auncyentes enduced theyr chyldren. Capitulo. xxxiii.

Valere telleth in ꝑ chapytres that speketh of customes howe ꝑ noble auncyentes enduced theyr chyldren layenge in this wyse ꝑ as sone as they were any thynge growen that they myght suffre any payne/ they toke them away fro me from theyr moders & made put them in exercyse to suffre payne and trauayle accordynge to theyr ages and strengthe. And in the same age acustomed them to bere harnes of warre after theyr strengthe/ and to put theym in exercyse of labours with theyr armes & hondes that was not to greuous for them Also they were not nourysshed with noo tryaunte meetes. nor they were not nysely arayed as some be nowe a dayes/ but they were fedde with grose meetes. And as for theyr gownes they vsed a propre facyon of an habyte that the nobles myght were/ and none other men. But truste certaynly that they were not furred with martres nor embrowdred nother. Also they acustomed them for to lye harde/ & to goo late to bedde/ & aryse erely. And made them to suffre al maner of other paynfulls paynes that belonged to the feate of armes. And by suche meanes ꝑ noble auncyentes nourysshed theyr chyldren/ whiche caused

theym afterwarde come to grete worshyp. Lyke as it appereth by theyr olde dedes. Also the maner and the guyse of the gentylles of Almayne & of other places also ought wel to be alowed for bycause that they put theyr chyldren for to serue gentylmen woorle then themselfe and make theym their pages for to folowe theym for because they sholde suffre tyuers payues & trauayles/yet I byleue when they come to theyr age they were neuer the lesse wrothe. For gentylmen that ben so nourysshed be more enterprysaunt in the frates of the warre then they that ben made mynyouns and fedde by dylycately. For as the grece sayth of knyghthode they be appropred to armes that ben acustomed to labourc. And ayenste the opynyon of them whyche holdeth that delycate and pleasaunt meetes maketh more stronge the body/than the grete meetes/that is to say/who yeeth lyttel meetes and drynke myghty wynes sholde haue better blode/whiche sholde cause a man to be the more stronge. I saye it is falle. For the delycate meetes corrupte more the body then the grete meetes/for Aristotle sayth the delycatyues nourysheth not the membres of many soo moche as doothe the grete meetes And we fynde it also by experyence. For the Bretouns and the Normaunes/whyche ben nourysshed commonly with grete meetes and be not delycate in theyr meetes and drynkes ben more harde & stronge then other men. Wherfore they be more desyred in warre then other men/and semblably the bourgoynoms and other nacyons whyche acustomed not to lyue in dylycacy. And also the Romayns/as Valere sayth enduced theyr chyldren in all good maners/and kepte them in feer and drede/and vnder obeysaunce/whyche gouernaunce was ordeyned by grete wysdome and reason. For lyke as it is wryten in the bocke of twelue abusyons/the thyrde degree of abusyon is the ponge man that is without obeysaunce/in whome ought to be Mekenes/Subiection/and humylyte./

For lyke as a man can fynde no fruyte in trees that be not fyr
ylled in lyke wyse maye no man attayne to honoure that ha
eth no labours in his youthe in some maner of chevalrye and
dyscypline And of this hauyng ben that the chyldren of the no
bles were sometyme accustomed in. Valere sayth that the yon
ge men dyde as moche worshyp to the olde auncyent men (as
they had ben they? owne faders And when the noble auncy
tes wente to the counsayle? or to the p?ynces courte) the yonge
men wolde wayte vpon them ryght humbly and attende vpon
them at the courte or at ꝑ counsayle standynge on they? fete to
ꝑpyne ꝑ they retourned home agayne. Thus they were made
harde for to suffre payne & travayle? these olde men also dyde
they? payne to enduce them and ſtyr? them to all good condy
cyons and vertues/ and shewed them many good ensamples/
by the whiche good and vertuous customes they become ver
tuous & well manered/ and so by them put forthe in to the offy
ces of knyghthode after they? customes. And this maner of
vsage ꝑ nobles kepte amonge they? chyldren. And so for they?
pacyence and vertue and who myght best endure payne were
reputed for moost worthy. And yet Valere sayth when a man
made ony grete feest/ and the yonge men happened to be there
When it sholde come that men sholde ſytte to mete/ they wolde
enquere dylygently who sholde come/ to that entente if ony au
cyent man that were noble and worthy came thyder that they
sholde be redy anone for to serue hym for they wolde not ſytte
erſte. And at the ende of the mete they? table sholde ſonest be ta
ke a wayte for because that they sholde ?relente themselfe bet
re the olde worshyppfull. By the whiche it appereth sayth Va
lere that they were taught not to be of moche langage/ whi
was a souerayne & a fayre custome for yonge men. For as Ar
istote sayth in the boke of ſymplytudes/ there be thre thynges
whiche ought to be cõmended in a yonge man that is to knowe

Shame in bertue. Abstynence in his bodyes Seylence in his mouthe that is to vnderstonde he sholde be lyte of language but after the sayenge of ỳ wyse man ỳ ofte holde his peas he myght be taken for a wyse man. 2 2 2 2

¶ Ensamples of that that foloweth after of the doctryne that the auncyentes gaue to they chyldren. Capitula. xxv.

Owe haue we shewed how ỳ Romayns in olde tyme enduced they chyldren in they youthe. ¶ Now must we shewe what foloweth after of this introduccyon ỳ is to wete of the effectes of they wertynelles whan they came to age / where vpon Valere amonge all other ensamples of chyldehode speketh to our purpose and sayth that ofte tymes in chyldhode a man shal vnderstonde by his inclynacyons to what thynges he shal drawe to / where vpon he telleth of a noble chylde of the Cyte of Rome that was called Emulpus Lepydus / whiche lerned the introduccyon of armes so hertely and delyted hym soo moche therin / that when men wente to batayle he wolde nedes be armed / whiche was agaynst nature of chyldren / for ỳ grete hardynesse is fere in batayle. Neuertheles he dyde soo moche armes at that batayle that the prynces of the counsayle of Rome put hym in they regystres / and noble memoryes of the Cyte for a grete meruayle. Also the ponge men by the stryvynge and introduccyon of the noble auncyentes were more apte to naturall pyte to good condycyons / and to stedfast courage. Also Valere speketh of another noble chylde that his mayster ledde towarde scole. And as he paused by one of the prynces of Rome whiche was a cruell man whose name was called Sylla / whiche had mabelmyte of the heedes of many men of Rome by his grete cruelte pe the chylde asked of his mayster howe suche a tyraunt

myght be dulcyd & not slayne. The mayster and wyse counsayler of this wyfely hath shewe wyse prouue þ wolde fle hym & slee hym myght. And he was so forsyghted with mē of armes þ they ne coude no meane be founde therfore. Then sayd the chylde yt so were that I had a knyfe I wolde ryght soone bryng þ matter to a poynte. For euery daye I am in his presence / wherfore I wolde not fayle to fle hym / where vpon the mayster consyderynge the grete courage of the chylde wolde suffre hym to come no more in the presence of Cesar / but he serched hym well before that he had no knyfe vpon hym. Also to þ purpose of the grete courage of a chylde well manered / Valere telleth of a noble man of Rome whiche kepte a chylde that he had in grete ryghtour & without measure / so moche þ the chylde was gretly anoyed with his rudenesse / and durst not well come in his presence / It happened that another myghty man of Rome hated moche that chyldes fader / so I wote neuer what cause he found to the chyldes fader / but þ he wolde nedes trouble hym. And dyde so moche therin þ he caused þ man to spende grete goodes and abated gretely of his rychesse. Then the good chylde whiche toke no hede of the rudenesse / nor the iniury that his fader dyde vnto hym / but only to the naturall loue þ he ought hym myght no lenger suffre the tourment that was done to his fader / but toke a knyfe pryuely and wente thyder as his faders aduersary was / and sayd vnto hym that he wolde fayne speke with hym in counsayle. The other whiche was a wyse man of counsayle / lyke as we myght say a lerned man / supposed þ þ chylde wolde aske hym some aduyse of counsayle ayenst his fader / and was full glad of hym / and badde hym secretly vnto a chambre. And when the chylde sawe that he hadde his faders enemy all alone / anone he shytte faste the dore and ranne to the olde man / and caste hym vnder hym / and forth withall caught hym by the throte / and swore a grete othe that he wolde slay

hym without that he wolde lete hym haue his parte of the pees/ and that he wolde also make hym amendes of the grete charges that he hadde put hym to. And soo at seuen woordes he made hym so aferde that he made a promyse for to restore his fader all hys costes/ and so he dyde.

¶ Howe the olde auncyent knyghtes auaunced the ponge men that they hadde taught and lerned. Capitulo. xxxvi.

Ye as ye haue herde here tofore the chyldren of the Romaynes profyted gretely in olde tyme by ỳ good ensamples that was shewed them by the olde auncyentes whiche dyde as they sholde doo. And these auncyent men ben gretely to be reproued that gyue cause to ponge men of euyll ensamples/ lyke as some olde foles done/ whiche ben hardened in euyll maners/ and fylthy customes/ whiche wyll not spare to vse them amonge the ponge men/ but maketh them theyr mesyngers for to bryngе them nyce tydynges/ wherfore it is gretely to be reproued when it happeneth that they whiche ought to be techers of good doctryne/ ben ensample of fyl the/ and myschyefe. For there is not a more vnsyttynge thynge in this worlde/ than to se an olde man without vertues & wysdome. And as it is sayd of the olde worthy Romaynes that gouerned them so wysely in all thynges they had so grete delyte in the good dedes of ponge men that they letted not for theyr youthe to set them in hyghe dygnytes of offyces/ for though they were ponge in age/ they were olde in vertues and wysdome/ lyke as they dyde by Scypio Affryeant/ whiche was but .xxiiii. yere of age/ when they made hym cappytayne of a grete hoost whiche was not acustomed to be done vnder page of .xxx. yere at ỳ leest/ neuertheles they were not

ſuccyded therin/ for he bare hym ſo worſhypfully & ſoo moche
vyctoryed the Romaynes that by his manhode & wyſdome/ he
gate them all Affryke/ Cartage/ & ỳ greteſt parte of Spayne
where he dyde many meruayllous actes/ In lyke wyſe alſo it
was of Pompe the grete/ whiche in the age of chyldehode was
ſo gretely proued in all vertue and worthynes that in age of
xxii. yere the Romaynes made hym a Conſule/ that is to ſaye/
a prynce of a ryght grete hoolde. And he bare hym ſo well in his
offyce and dygnyte/ that he wonne the Tryumphe dyuers ty
mes/ whiche was a ſouerayne honoure/ lyke as hath ben reher
ced before in the fyrſt parte of this booke. Fyrſt he had the try=
umphe of Mytrydates ỳ kynge of Pontus/ whiche ſubdued
xxii. countrees of dyuers languages/ whiche by the ſpace of xl
yeres had troubled the Romaynes by dyuers bataylles. Alſo
he had the tryumphe for kynge Cygram of Armony lyke as
it is ſayd before/ And for other dyuers kynges and Cytees/ a
londes/ whiche he put vnder the obeyſaunce of Rome to ỳ nom
bre of. xxii. royalmes/ And ſhortely all the regyons that ben by
twene the mounte Cancaſus and the reed ſee/ Alſo he clenſed
the ſee of a grete multytude of robbours whiche occupyed the
partyes of Europe and Aſye after the ſee rooſed. And ſoo out of
theſe worſhypfull ſcoles came ſuche diſcypples as ye may here
and of the feate of theſe good ſcolers and diſcypples for the en=
ſample of knyghthode I wyll tell you more nerre after folow=
ynge.

How amonge all other thynges ſyxe good condycyons ben
neceſſary to the nobles and knyghtes. Capitulo. xxxvii.

Of the fyrſte.

Nowe as me ſemeth I fynde in the wrytynges of auc=
toures whiche haue treated of the maners and condy=

cyons of noble men/that be condycyons ben necessary to kny-
ghtes and nobles yt they wyll haue the worshyp that is due to
nobleye. And without the there is no noblesse worthe/but as a
mockery/ ¶ The fyrst of thyse condycyons is/they ought to lo
ue parfytely armes and kepe ȳ ryghtwysnes therof/and they
ought to put them in exercyse of that labour. ¶ The seconde cō
dycyon is that they ought to be hardy/and that hardynes ou-
ght to be so ferme and so constaunte that they ought not to fle
ne parte from batayle for fere of dethe/ ne for losynge of blode
ne lyfe/for the weirthe of theyr paynte and sauegarde of the lon
de/and for the comon weithe for and they do/they renne in the
payne of losynge of theyr heedes/by sentence of the lawe/& also
i harmed forever. ¶ The thyrde is they sholde gyue courage and
hardynes one to another/and styr theyr felawes for to do wel
to that entente that they sholde surely abyde. ¶ The fourth is ȳ
they ought in any wyse to be true/and kepe theyr fayethe & pro
myse. ¶ The fyfth is/ that they ought to loue & desyre worshyp
above all thynges worldely. And the fyrste is/ they sholde be
wyse and sutyll ayenst theyr enemyes in all maner of feates
of armes. And yf these fyue condycyons be well kept/ they ȳ
obserue them may neuer fayle of honoure. But certaynly the-
re is more dyscreuite in the preseruynge of these condycyons
then in the spreynge of theym. And therfore Vegyll seis fayethe/
where is moche dyscreuite there is the grettest worshyppe. ¶
Now for to speke of the fyrste condycyon that the noble mā
ought to haue/that is to knowe he sholde loue and put hymself
e in exercyse of armes/and kepe ȳ ryght of the same/ we may
gyue ensample of many worthy knyghtes. But for as moche
as we be entred in ȳ storyes of Romaynes/ we wyl contynue we
in them whyche as me semeth we may take generally/ for the
spereyll lawes & of armes/ and by consequent they were ryght
noble/ȳ is to knowe of the good knyghtes of whome mencyon

in ꝑ wrytynges of olde auctours whyche make men
ryen of theyr dedes and thoughe they lyued well armed they
kepte the ordenaunces of ꝑ lande by theyr chyualrous dyspo-
pl ꝓuysyons to saye by theyr good rules to kepe theyr in all
thynges conuenable so that they layed ... thynge for in ca
ſey any man had done ayenſt ... whyche was
ſtatut pnyshed amonge them ... ryght sharpely punysshy
ed. Wherfore Valerye ... wryteth whyche longe to the same / wolde
to knowe the rule ... and stedfast foundement of the Empy-
re the ſoueraygne ... ouer he ſayth / by the well kepynge of ꝑ
re ... they gate the grete ryches and the ſure estate of
... tranquylyte. And of the maner howe Valeryꝰ gy-
ueth ... enſamples vpon ꝑ same dyſcyplyne it is to wete
that amonge all other he ſpeketh of a rebellyon whyche was in
Cypre ayenſt the Romaynes. There was a conſule that is to
ſay one of theyr prynces or elles a ſouerayne capytayne / and he
was ſente ... with a grete hooſt whoſe name was called Cal-
purnius Piſo. So it happened that he had ſent one of his ca-
pytaynes with a company of his men of armes to kepe a paſſa
ge ayenſt his enemyes / neuertheles he was ſuppryſed with ſo
grete multytude of his enemyes / that he and his hooſt was ſo
conſtrayned ꝑ they were fayne to yelde theyr armes vnto them
And when ꝑ the conſule Calpurnius vnderſtode this aduē
ture / he ſuppoſed ꝑ it fell ſo for lacke of good watche. So when
he was come ayayne to this Calpurnius he dyde hym ſuche
dyſplayſyr as here after folowyth for he made hym were ſuche
clothynge as the nobles dyde / whyche was called Togue / and
in token that he had dyſhonoured his nobleſſe for bycauſe ꝑ he
had ſo ſymply yelde hym to his enemyes / he made take away
the frenge ꝑ was ſet about on his garment / and ſet it benethe at
his feete / whyche was taken for a grete dyſplayſy and the frenge

was lette stylle there all longe as that arme endured/ and was
defended hym that he shulde not company with the knyghtes
that is to saye/he sholde not come on horsbacke amonge ỳ men
of armes/where as afore he was a capytayne/ so he and these
men that were yelded with hym were let amonge ỳ foote men
and boyes/whiche were of no pryce nor reputacyon. ¶ ¶¶¶¶

¶ Of the fyrst good condycyon. Capitule. xxxviii.

Yet to this purpose Valere telleth how ỳ Romay
nes in kepynge of this dyscypline spared no man
that dyde amysse/thoughe he were neuer so good
& notable/and speketh of a worthy knyght ỳ was
called Fabyus Rullyanus. And was mayster
ỳ capytayne of a grete hoost of Romaynes. But for as moche
as he fought w a grete hoost of his enemyes without ỳ lycen-
ce of ỳ dyctatour or consule which e was ỳ soueraynе/not with
stondynge ỳ he dyscomfyted them/yet he was dyspoyled and
made naked/& sore beten/& yet it was a grete grace ỳ he had
no more harme/but for bycause that he was a worthy knyght
they y saued his lyfe/wherfore Valere speketh of hym pytefully
& sayth/that Fabyus Rullyanus gaue his victorious body
and full of prowesse to be torne with roddes by the hange man
in reuenge the bloode of his woundes/whiche he had goten
in his glorious victoryes. But the Romaynes kepte this Ju
styce to ỳ entente ỳ they y sholde be doubted & dradde/yet Vale
re telleth to ỳ same purpose of a worshypful cõsule ỳ was slay
ne in a batayle/ yet notwithstondynge ỳ his party had ỳ better
& wan ỳ felde/for bycause ỳ Romaynes were enfourmed ỳ for
lacke of me of armes whiche had not socoured hym & so by theyr
negligence toke no hede to theyr duke but lete hym be slayne/& by
cause ỳ they sped not before to saue hym fro ỳ hote of his enmyes

¶ The senatoures of Rome as Valere sayth ordeyned that all ꝑ were after these same people had no wages: ¶ Also the Carthaginences whiche were ryght noble men of armes put their capytaynes to dyspyteous bethe when they made cuyll ordynaunce in their batayles lette vs suppose yet that they had the victory/ but ther ꝑ oppynyon was that noman ought to haue glorye ne lowes of noo thynge that he doth in lasse that it be doone by reason/ but ought to be punyshed therfore: ¶ Thus Valere concludeth when he hath spoken ynoughe of ꝑ dyscyplyne of knyghthode whiche sewed the Romaynes for kepynge of the same that is to say in conquerynge of the myghty kyngdomes and lordshyppes of ꝑ hyghe hylles of Alpes and accheued the meruayllous aduentures of the same wt hout whiche dyscyplyne it coude neuer haue ben brought aboute. ¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

¶ The seconde good condycyon. ¶ Capitulo. xxxix.

I Spoke of hardynesse whiche is the seconde good condycyon that is necessary to a good knyght/ or a good man of armes. ¶ The auctours say whiche haue treated therof/ that it is a vertue ꝑ cometh of grete courage whiche clarkes calleth ¶ Magnanymyte wthout whiche no strength of man may not accheue grete dedes. ¶ And by hardynes is enterprysed all the hyghe and grete thynges/ and often tymes accheued rather than by strengthe/ lyke as a man may se often tymes that a lytell man feble and small of body, may be so hardy of courage that he dare take vpō hym selfe to do armes ayenst a morhemā and a stronge/ and often tymes dyscomfyteth hym! ¶ And of this we haue ensample of Alysaundre/ whiche was one of the leest persones ꝑ men knewe/ yet he fought honde for honde with kynge Porrus of ynde whiche was a more myghty man than ocher/ yet he dyscomfy-

wo hy / & though hys grete hardynes he was bolde to take vpō
hym to cōquere al ỹ worlde whiche he acheued / & ỹ was a grete
meruayle / & many other haue acheued by the yr hardynes soo
many grete meruayles whiche semed impossyble to be done /
wherfore Ouyde sayth ỹ ỹ goddes helpe ỹ hardyme / Where
as he speketh in his poetry ỹ ỹ god whiche is called Mars hel
pe a knyght in his hardynes whē he fought wt a mā ỹ was my
ghtyer thā he / & cast a stone ayenst ỹ stroger mā & hyt hym in ỹ
vysage whiche caused hym to be all amyed & by ỹ meanes ỹ feble
mā ouercame ỹ stroge / so this myght be true / some mā paraduenture cast a stone ỹ smote hi in ỹ vysage / & ỹ folysshe people
at ỹ tyme bycause ỹ no mā wyst fro whēce ỹ cast came / demed ỹ
ỹ god Mars had cast it / helpyng of ỹ feble persone / & ly ke wyse
valere sayth ỹ ỹ god Mars helped a romayne knyght ỹ faught
ayenst another whiche sent hi a Rauon ỹ wt his becke & his ta-
louns smote his enemy so sore i ỹ vysage ỹ it was cause of his
dyscōfyture / & thys is sayd herefore bycause ỹ ofte tymes it hap
peth fortune is ready to the ỹ be hardy & gyueth the so many
good aduētures ỹ it semeth verely as it came by myracle / but
for to speke pperly of hardynes ỹ pure & honourable hardynes
whiche ought to be alowed is ỹ ỹ is fouded vpō reason & suche
thynges as ben possyble to be done wout presūpcyō & folysshe
hardynes / as who sayth one mā alone ayēst many mē / or elles
wt a fewe mē to assayle a grete host of theyr enmyes / or yf a mā
do grete outrages & weneth no mā dare auēge it / suche hardy-
nes may not lōge endure / & though it hap at some tyme ỹ it pro-
ueth wel wt hi at last it destroyeth hi vterly & al ỹ byleue in ỹ
same / & there abydeth no worshyp i the / but is holde for presūp
cyō & folyssh for as it is sayd here tofore of dyscyplyne of knyght
hode in all thynges where is no measure is not to be alowed /
though so be ỹ at some tyme by aduenture may hap to fall so-
me good thynge / yet it may not fayle but ỹ ende shal be euyl &

Yet more of ỹ same & ensamples of the Romaynes. iii

Because we haue sayd here before & trust it is þ hardynes
commyth of a grete courage/we must therfore shewe en-
sample after þ ordre of our proces cõteyned i this boke here before
& yet cõ what of our purpose of þ is rehersed before of þ dyscy
plyne of knyghthode/þ is to say/Iulyꝰ cezar þ noble cõquerour
had by his ryght wyse dyscyplyne enduced his knyghtes & his
men of armes i suche lessons as here after folowyth to our pur
pose of hardynes & courage whiche ought to be i a good mã of
armes þ sholde not flee frõ batayle for feere of deth/nor be fouñde
as a cowarde. Valery telleth of a worthy knyght þ was w Iu
lyꝰ cezar/called Marcꝰ celiꝰ/where as he happened to be i a ba
taylle where he dyde many grete dydes of armes þ was mer-
uayle to se/wherfore there were sent a grete people for to take þ
knyght/but as many as came nygh hym he slue thẽ/& yet he she
wed gretely his hardynes & courage i another thynge/for one
happened to smyte a stroke vpõ hym & smote one of his eyen clene
out of his hede/but for al þ he made no semblaũt þ he suffered any
payne nor lefte no more his fyghtyng therfore thã he had not be
hurte yet notwithstondyng þ he had many grieuous woũdes be-
syde/but he neuer lefte fightyng tyl euyn þ he fel downe dede
vpõ þ hepe of men þ he had slayne hymselfe/& it was fouñde þ his
shilde was perced .xxvi. places & more for þ worshyp of hi Valere
sayth þ þ dyscyplyne of Iulyꝰ cezar nourysshed & brought forth
suche knyghtes þ is to know by his exortacyõs & exercyses of
good ensãples þ he shewed thẽ. Yet more to þ same purpose
valere speketh of another knyght þ was w Iuluꝰ cezar called
Scilurus/whiche happened on a tyme to be i grete batayle vpõ
þ see ayẽst thẽ of Marcellus þ whiche his ryght hõde was cut
of/but for al þ he abashed neuer his countenaunce nor chere/but
toke vp his sowde wt his lyfte hõde & faught as egrely/þ as
he had had both his hõdes. And to þ purpose þ we haue spo
ken of before þ good fortune helpeth hẽ rymes to thẽ þ be har
dy/valere telleth of another knyght þ was wt Iulyus cezar

called Scenclas this Scenela happened of aduẽture to go alo-
in to an yonde frõ his felawes & in ỹ same yonde were passyn
ge many of his enemyes / as soone as euer they sawe hĩ they
assayled hym egrely on euery parte / but he quyt hym so mãly
ỹ .v. knyghtes coude not haue done so moche in halfe a day as
he dyde in an houre / & whẽ his dartes were fayled hym he pul
led out his swerde & can heedlynge vpõ thẽ & dyde so grete de-
des of armes ỹ it was meruayle to se of his felawes whiche
stode on ỹ other syde of ỹ water & behelde hym how he faught
but they myght not come i no wyse to helpe hym / it was a so-
re thyng for his enemyes to suffre ỹ strokes ỹ he gaue thẽ / for
it was a thynge ỹ myght not haue bẽ wel byleued ỹ by one per
sone so grete meruayles of armes myght haue be wrought wt
out they had sene th / for he dyd so moche wt his grete strokes ỹ
he made al ỹ meyne a lytel to drawe aback / thã so hurte as he
was ỹ is to know he was smytẽ wt a spere thrugh bothe thyes
& his vysage al to bryled wt a grete stone / & wouñded i many o-
ther places / yet notwtstõdyng ỹ he sodaynly ran to ỹ water ar-
med & hurte as he was swam ouer makyng ỹ water al blody
as he swam / & thus he scaped & wente to his lorde Iuly⁹ cezar
whiche honoured hym greetly & gaue hym a ryght grete recõ
mẽdacyõ as he had wel deserued / & rewarded hym notably for
he coude wel know a worshyppful mã / & rewarde hym after his
desertes / whiche caused other to take grete ensãple to do wel / &
forth wal he made hym lorde & mayster ouer a grete cõpany of
knyghtes. ¶ Yet agayne of ỹ same purpose ỹ fortune helpeth
oftẽ tymes ỹ mãly & courageous knyghtes for to escape frõ ma
ny grete perils & to do many meruayl⁹ dedes of armes / vale-
re speketh of a knyght of Rome called Horacy⁹ cocles whiche on
a tyme mẽ of tuskan came to take a brydge ayẽst ỹ host of ỹ ro
mayns / thẽ exactus sawỹ & went not ouer ỹ brydge to defende
passage & fyght wt them honde for honde tyll the brydge was
broke behynde hĩ he wyst wel they sholde haue lost ỹ passage / &

whā ỳ was done he ſpꝛyed his hoꝛs & made hī lepe i to ỳ water
& ſtaped lake & ſoūde i delyte of al his enmyes/notwſtōdyng
they caſt many a darte after hī/yet to ỳ purpoſe of hardynes &
courage valere ſpeketh of a romayne knyght whiche i a batayl
had done many meruaylous dedes of armes & endured longe
therīn at laſt was ſo ſoꝛe woūded ỳ he myght not helpe hīſelf
wt his hōdes/& whē he felte his lyfe was but ſhoꝛte/he dyde ſo
moche ỳ wt his fete he ſmote downe one of hȳ enmyes/& whā he
was downe he fel vpō hī & bote of his noſe & al to tare his vyſa
ge/yet valere ſpeketh of a woꝛthy pꝛice of rome named Poulus
craſus/ỳ ſame poulus after ỳ he had fought woꝛſhypfully i a
batayl ayēſt aryſtonyc⁹ kyng of dayſe/happed ỳ euyll foꝛtune
fel ayēſt this poulꝰ/i ſo moche ỳ he was take alyue in ỳ batayl
whā he ſaw ỳ hi thought he had leuer dye honourably thē liue
i bōdage lyke as it was at ỳ tyme ỳ cuſtome i dyuers places ỳ
who ſo euer were take i batayle ſholde be holde afterwarde as
a bōde mā & ſuffre grete payne & labours & namly at rome foꝛ
they vſed ỳ cuſtome ayēſt ſuche mē as rebelled oꝛ brake theyꝛ
conaūtes/ſo this noble pꝛice after ỳ he was dyſarmed & put a
lytel ſmal yerde i his hōde/he wt ỳ ſame yerde toke hym ỳ ſtode
next hi & thꝛeſt ỳ rod eūe i his eye & ſmote it out/ thꝰ mā ỳ was
ſo hurte felde the grete payne of ỳ ſtroke & anone toke out his
ſwoꝛde & ſlue ỳ pꝛice/wherfoꝛe valere ꝛmēdeth this pꝛice ſayn
ge ỳ craſſus ſhewed to foꝛtune ỳ it was not i theyꝛ puyſſaūce
though ỳ body were ouercome/foꝛ to ouercome ỳ courage/ yet
of another meruaylous knyght of rome/ valere & other dyuers
auctours/as baro/tyꝰ lyuyꝰ/ſolyn & other whiche tel of hi &
of his dedes/& ſemes as it were a thynge ipoſſyble ỳ it myght
be true/but ỳ auctoꝛyte of theſe notable wytneſſes maketh me
to gyue fayth & credēce to thinke it ſholde be true/this worthy
knyght was calle ſcicimnꝰ dētatꝰ/ſhoꝛtly to ſpeke this knyght
dyd i his tyme ſo grete armes ỳ he was i.vi.ſcoꝛe batayls foꝛ ỳ
romayns where he had euer ỳ victoꝛy he beyng ſo courageꝰ ỳ

thrughe his myght and courage the moost parte of the batay
les were achcued/and he brought to Rome.rrr.men dyspoy-
led whiche he had ouercomen by his manhode/that is to say he
wanne theyr armures by noblesse/or theyr sheldes/or koote ar
mures/lyke as parauenture theyr custome was suche at ỳ ty-
me in sygne of victory/wherof.viii.of the same that were dys
poyled were knyghtes/ whiche had chalenged to fyght with
hym honde for honde betwene bothe hoostes/in presence of bo-
the partyes/Allo he reskowed & saued.xxviii. knyghtes in ba-
tayle/and in the breste he was hurte with.xlv.woundes & not
one in the backe behynde/& thus the customes of Rome were
at that tyme ful notablelyke as I haue sayd here tofore. What
wolde god there were nowe in Fraunce whiche is the floure of
al the londes of the worlde/as in noblesse/wolde kepe suche ru
le and gouernaunce as dyde the Romaynes in those dayes/for
when the prynces of Rome came home victoryously from ony
grete conquest/they were receyued with grete honour whiche
was called Triumphe And these knyghtes that bare theym
best in the feide went nexte to the chayre. And had proper de-
uyses of Jewelles/whiche they ware vpon them after ỳ dedes
of armes that they had done. And they were called victoures
This ryght worshypfull & manly knyght Scypsymyus brou
ght many suche victoryes to Rome nexte to ỳ chayre. And eue
ry day his honoure encreaced more and more. And the nombre
of worthy dedes that he dyde/lyke as Polyn sayth they were
nombred to.CCC.and xii. And Valere setteth in his booke.
CCCC.and.xii.and whan he entred in to the Cyte men toke
more hede of hym for his meruayllous dedes/then they toke to
the rychelle that went aboute the chayre/where ỳ tryumphe
was in/and Polyn sayth of this Scypsymyus/that he was ỳ
the hardyest and moost excellent of all the Romaynes. 2 2

¶ Of the thyrde good condycyon that knyghtes and cheuetaynes ought to haue in armes. Capitulo. xl.

Happeneth ofte tymes and comonly is sene þ euery persone whiche is lerned in a crafte & customed in the same/ trauayleth & putteth hymselfe in payne to instructe and lerne other men suche as ben enclyned to the same/ wherfore the wyse men sayth he/ and thou haunte an folowe the good men/ thou shalte be lyke vnto them And yf thou haunte the cuyll/ thou shalte be as they be/ wherfore he that wyl be mayster of a crafte it is necessary that he folowe and haunte the mayster workeman of that crafte that he wyll medell in/ for as it shall be sayd here after in the last parte of this booke/ euery man that is experte in his crafte ought to be byleued. Now for to come agayne to our purpose of this matter/ that is to knowe of the thyrde condycyon that þ good knyght or good man of armes ought dylygently to folowe & haunte the noble and worthy men whiche ben experyente in the same. And for bycause I call it a scyence it sholde seme to some man that I fayled of my language. But for to speke clerely without sechynge of other subtyll reasons/ whiche shall be proued that it maye so be called/ as semeth that all thynge in whiche good measure and rules ought to be kepte/ may well be called a scyence. And me semeth there is noo crafte more necessary to haue good rule in/ than the feate of armes. For where as there is no ordryne rule in batayle/ all gothe to confusyon/ lyke as we may se dayly by experyence/ wherfore Vegece made a propre boke where in he speketh of the rules that ought to be kepte in armes/ whiche boke is called the scyence and arte of knyghthode ¶ And that it maye be proued true that there is noo arte more necessary to haue good rule kepte in/ than the arte of armes//

Scypyo Affrycan the ryght worshypfull knyght as Vale-
re telleth sayd to this same purpose / that there coude not be a
gretter shame in a knyght than to saye / I had wente it sholde
not haue ben so / for he sayd yf a man wolde do a thynge & execu
te it / he sholde do it by so good aduyse and counsayle / and by so
grete reason that he sholde not nede to saye I wyste not that
it wolde haue ben soo. For the errour that is to saye when the
re is ony faute in good ordynaunce of a batayle / the vyolence
is soo greate thereof / that it maye neuer be amended. And the
forsayd auctoure whiche is called Vegece / speketh of the same
in his fyrste booke of knyghthode / And he saythe also / yf men
erre in other thynges / the errour maye be corrected and amen
ded. But the dyshordynaunce of batayles and myscondupte
in armes maye neuer be amended / for the payne payeth incon-
tynente the mysdede. For he must nedes perysshe shortely / or ell
les shamefully flee / or at the leest waye he must fall in seruage
that is to saye he must be taken and comberously entreated / /
Whiche thynges is more grefe to courag pous men then is the
dethe. And for bycause that we be entred in the chappytre whe-
we hoope to treate howe the good men of armes ought to ayde
one another to be manly and good / and the maners that ought
to be kepte in the same / whiche longeth synguleryly / and prin-
cypally to the introduccyon of knyghtes / and cappytaynes / of
hoostes / and of batayles. ¶ We wyll speke of a worthy prynce
called Scypyo / whiche hath ben reherced here tofore sayenge
in this wyse to his knyghtes that no man ought to fyght with
his enemyes that is to knowe to go and assayle them without
a iuste cause. But and he had a Juste cause he sholde not tary
and abyde tyll they come vpon hym / for a Juste cause gyueth
a grete hardynesse in suche a case for to sette freely vpon / and
to fyght surely. And other wyse a man ought not to fyght
but in that necessyte constrayne hym. But and the case be y

a man be assayled yf he defende hym not / it is a grete cowardyse and an euyll trust of good fortune / whiche were a shamefull thynge. ¶ yet to the purpose of good cheuetaynes of an hoste. Vegece speketh and sayth that aboue al other men they ought to be wyse and best aduysed in theyr offyce / For it is a grete thynge he sayth for to purchace for soo moche people that is for to wete for to be well aduysed in his thought how he may do ayenst hym that is his enemye. Another is howe he maye gouerne suche a quantyte of people to the pleasure of euery man and to kepe them in good ordre and rule to his honour & profyte of his souerayne / wherfore the olde auncyentes sometyme whiche were pryces & gouernoures of batayles fayned themselfe that they were of the lygnage of goddes / to that entente yt theyr subiectes and they that were vnder theyr gouernaunce shulde drede them the more and put grettter fayth in theyr ordynaunce and rule. And suche maner of cautelles they vsed at that tyme in techynge of theyr people. ¶ Lyke as Valere telleth of the grete wysedome / valyaunce / and hardynelle of the noble pryncc of batayle that was called Sertorius / whiche for to gyue herte and trust in his people / fayned and sayd that the goddes shewed hym by reuelacyō what he sholde do by a whyte hynde whiche he ledde with hym in the hylles of Lucytanye whiche is a partye of Spayne / and in all other places where he wente in his Journaye. And in the same wyse dyde kynge Pynos of Crete whiche was a man of grete wysdome in the kepynge of Justyce and lyke wyse in batayles. For he subdued & put in seruage theym of Athenes / whiche Theseus theyr duke made free afterwarde. This sayd kynge Pynos wente customably euery newe yere ones in to a caue whiche by olde tyme was consecrate to theyr god that was called Jupyter sayenge that he was his sone / lyke as poetes saye. And in ỹ place he sayd that his fader Jupyter gaue hym the lawes / and the

ordynaunces that he stablysshed amonge them. And he fayned thus for bycause that they sholde doubte to breke his ordynaū ces and commaundementes. ¶ But these thynges be not to vnderstonde that ỳ good capytayne or the good man of armes sholde vse this/for suche fayntynge were euyll done and myght gyue cause of euyll ensample. But if ỳ wyse capytayne or guyder of men of armes coude wysely fayne that he had a gretter wytte than he hath/or that he coude more than he dothe. And ỳ that he dothe be done by reason/and for a reasonable cause/& vpon that fyndeth ony good Iapes or cautayles/I suppose it were ryght wysely doone/lyke as here after shall be declared when it falleth in the processe. ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗ ⸗

¶ yet more of the same/and ensample of the Romaynes.

I Entreate of the purpose of good amonycyons that the good cheuetayne ought to do to his people in all Iuste wyse that he can thynke/by the whiche he myght gyue them gretely courage and wyll to do well/and to be the more hardy. And also that one & other ought to say in comfortynge of theyr courages/Valery sayth that Gayus Marcyus a consule of Rome/a duke and condytoure of a grete hoost happened on a tyme to be in a batayle gretely oppressed vp his enemyes wherfore he had a grete doubte lest it sholde myscary with his hoost So he had with hym straunge sowdyoures to the nombre of. iii. cohortes. A cohorte is a nombre of. [illegible] men of whom he had grete doubte that they wolde not be true to hym/Then for to make a remedy for that doubte/seynge that the thynge was hasty and perylous/wente vnto the same men and amonyshed them gretely to do well theyr deuoyre/& promysed them that & soo were ỳ the felde were wonne by theyr manhode ỳ he wolde rewarde them so gretely ỳ he wolde make euery man of

them Cytezyns of Rome & that was not a lytel thynge in tho
se dayes that he promyled them. For it was ỳ gretest honour
and profyte that coude be done to ony man for the noble fraun-
chyles and lybertees that was in ỳ cyte. And also it was not
acustome to make suche graunte to ony straungers. Then the
se lowdyours were ryght well apayde of that grete offre. And
payned themselfe so sore that by theyr manhode theyr enemy-
es were sore put abacke/ by the whiche bycto;yously the batay-
le was wonne/ where vpon the consule kepte them couenaunte
of that he promysed them/ notwithstondynge ỳ it was ayenste
the ordynaunce of the Cyte. For there ought no consule with-
out lycence & ordynaunce of the Senatoures that is to saye of
all the hole counsayle to make no graunte of suche thyng. But
as for trespas that he dyde in that case he excused hym ryght
notably before the Senatoures sayenge that where as a ba-
tayle stode in grete Jeopardy it were ryght necessary to pour-
uay for an hasty remedy. And by this aduyse at that tyme he
coude not fynde a better remedy than for to graunt them gre
te rewardes lodaynly for as for than he had no layloure to se-
ke ỳ lawes whiche at that tyme had more nede to be offended
than kepte. ¶ Yet to the purpose of the ladde aduyse of the che-
uetayne ỳ amonysheth well his people. Tytus Lynyus sayth
in the fyrst foundacyon of Rome/ it happened that the Romay
nes had nede of helpe of men of armes for a grete batayle that
they had to do/ wherfore they hyered the straunge lowdyours
so these same lowdyours whiche were not good ne true semed
by theyr Jugement that the batayle was doubteful and pe-
rylous on the Romaynes syde/ they fayze departed out of the
hoost/ & wente to the pendaunte of an hylle/ w the entente that
after the batayle who so euer had the syde they wolde haue fal
vnto them/ when the duke and prynce of the hoost sawe ỳ these
people were abasshed for bycause that they sawe these meyne ỳ

sholde haue holped them departen from the felde. Anone lyke a wyse chenetayne founde a remedy for that feere/ For he toke an house forth withall and rode thrugh be his batayle sayenge that all thynge was in good ordynaunce/ and that he had lente out the cappytayne of the crowdyours and his people with hym by his aduyse to thependaunce of that hyll/ to that entente ỳ they sholde come on the backe halfe of his enemyes after the batayle was Joyned/ and sayd he had gyuen them a certayne token when they sholde set on. And thus this wyse and worthy chenetayne by his grete wysdome and aduyse chaunged the hertes of his people and put them in grete hoope and hardynesse & by that meane he wanne ỳ byetorye of his enmyes/ whiche was a notable dede.

Yet ensamples of the same.

Et to the purpose that good amonysshynge is moche worthe in the feate of batayle/ I maye drawe out that is wryten of thre worshypfull knyghtes of the whiche one of theym was of Lacydemone/ whiche is a parte of Grece/ that by his wordes & his dedes shewed his worshypfull courage it happened on a tyme ỳ he was w̄ a grete route of mē of armes of his owne countre ỳ went to warre & he with them/ & for bycause ỳ he was halte & some what lame/ his felawes rebuked hym & sayd that they had meruayle what he wolde do at the batayle. Then he answered thē agayne full courteysly sayenge ỳ he went thyder for to smyte and not for to flie/ and ỳ the strengthe of his armes was so bounden with the constaunce of his courage/ by ỳ whiche he hooped the batayle sholde be the more strengthed by his persone/ or elles he wolde dye in the payne/ and hooped to haue as grete byetorye as ony that was there. And also he sayd that it sholde be a grete shame vnto them that presumed

so moche vpon themselfe & had all theyr lymmes hole & sounde that suche one as he sholde bere away the worshyp before them that were myghty & sounde in theyr persones. And this good knyght sayd thus for bycause þ they sholde put them in theyr deuoyre by the meanes of that stryfe to fyght the better whan they came to the batayle. And so it happened that they dyde/ for þ stryfe ranne so ferre amonge themselfe/ that they put the ym in the Iugement of theyr cheuetayne/ that whosoeuer dyd best in the batayle sholde haue a certayne thynge of worshyp gyue hym/ that men myght knowe by that his notable & manly dedes. And for bycause of this debate euery man put hymselfe gretely in his deuoyre for enuye that the one had to the other/ by the whiche they gate the victorye of a grete and a straunge batayle. ¶ Another Romayne knyght that was a cheuetayne of men of armes whiche had lente the Romaynes with a company of knyghtes to þ socoure of one of theyr princes whiche held the warre in the londe of Perce. So it happened that he mette with an hoost of theyr owne people that retourned home agayne sayenge vnto hym þ the men of Perce shotte arowes so thycke that it tokē away the lyght of the sonne. This good capytayne whan he sawe þ the people was thus afferd & discomfited them with a manly cheere/ sayenge þ they had brought hym good tydynges for then he sayd they sholde fyght moche þ better/ for bycause of the shadowe/ and by his hardy & manly wordes & the good ensample þ he shewed them caused them to retourne agayne with hym & faught cruelly & wan þ fylde with grete worshyp. ¶ The .iij. knyght was of Perce & was lente forth to þ socours of a Cyte with a felawshyp of men of armes & whē he was come in to þ fortresse/ þ cytezens whiche durst not yssue out of theyr walles for fere of theyr enemyes they shewed hym the grete hydes of theyr walles/ & the grete dyspensse of theyr dyches/ whiche they ordeyned theym gretely in-

anſwered them in this wyſe/yf ſo be that ye haue made them for women it is good: But & ye haue made them for men it is a grete ſhame & a lewde thynge/ yᵗ ye tryſt more to be encloſed within youꝛ walles/ & youꝛ dyches/ than in the myght & ſtrēgthe of youꝛ owne perſones: And thus by his good amonyſſhynges/ and wyſe reaſons gaue them ſuche comfoꝛte that they were bolde foꝛ to aſſayle theyꝛ enmyes whiche before tyme they durſte in no wyſe do: And by the good amonycyon of this woꝛthy knyght they diſcomfyted theyꝛ enemyes & cauſed them to breke the ſyege.

¶ Enſample of woꝛthy knyghtes. Capitulo. lxii.

Of grete bygoure was that woꝛthy knyght wht che was well nouryſſhed wᵗ Julyus Ceſar whoſe name was called Scenola to whom was gyuen and to other knyghtes a paſſage foꝛ to kepe and a towꝛe ayenſt the hooſt of Pompye whyle yᵗ warres endured bytwene them/ So it happened that yᵗ hooſt of Pompye thought to gyue them a grete aſſaute/ in ſo myche that this knyght had moche payne to defende hymſelfe fromme his enemyes/ foꝛ they charged hym paſſynge ſoꝛe/ ſo the batayle was paſſynge ſtronge and cruell. Foꝛ there were many woꝛthy men on bothe partyes: But this Scenola whiche was as hardy as ayron dyde ſo grete dedes of armes that it was merueyle to tell/ and ſuffred ſo moche payne in defence of his place/ that he was paſſynge ſoꝛe hurte/ and in his fyghtynge he ſayd to his knyghtes/ nowe foꝛthe gentyll knyghtes and felowes/ breke the dartes of youꝛ enemyes wᵗ youꝛ teete & receyue theyꝛ ſtowe hedes in youꝛ thootes/ & we ſhall ouercome them: Foꝛ in the meane tyme yᵗ we dyethe ſhall come yᵗ ſhall reſcowe this foꝛtreſſe/ and ſo ſpeke in fewe woꝛdes his language & his dedes

were so mothe that he ought to be put in memory/ for he by his good amonycyons & enlamples of his dedes encreased so ꝑ cou rages of his felawshyp ꝑ they dred no dethe but fought mer uaylously. Then he wente vp to the towre & cast the deed men vpon the quycke/and doue them downe fro the walles ꝑ were entrynge vp/the cutte of the hondes of them that touched ꝑ wal les aboue/and caste stones and other thynges ꝑ he myght gete without lesynge. But to spyke shortly he slue so many that the hepe of the deed men was as hyghe as the toppe of the wal as the olde auctours wytnesseth/whiche wrote the noble actes and dedes of ꝑ Romaynes. And then he lepte out amonge his enemyes/then anone they ranne vpon hym on euery syde and he faught so sore that his swerde was so greey of the bloode & so blunted with strokes that it myght cutte no more. And his enemyes caste so faste the dartes at hym that often tymes the dartes mette togyder and toke away ꝑ stroke. And thus he en dured long/lyke as Lucan wytnesseth of hym and of his mer uaylous dedes/seynge also ꝑ there was so grete preese aboute hym that he myght vnneth dure no lenger. And amonge all other strokes he was smyten with an arowe in ꝑ lyfte eye/but anone he raced out the arowe of his heed/and the eye withall/ & trade vpon it. And whan he sawe that he was so sore hurte ꝑ he myght not wel endure no lenger/he sayned hymselfe that he was repentaunte that euer he faught ayenst the Cytezyns of Rome. And he sayd also that they ought to haue pyte on hym/ for as moche as he was of theyr bloode/ and prayed them that one of them myght bryng hym before Pompye for to crye hys mercy and there he wolde dye. Then there was one in the pla ce that byleued well his wordes/ and came to hym for to haue ledde hym to Pompye & anone as he came nyghe/his Scena gaue hym so grete a stroke that he slue hym stone dede. And than anone they fell vpon hym and slue hym/ and thus ended

Serue one of the good knyghtes of the worlde.

¶ The fourth good condycyon / the worthy mā of armes ought to haue. Capitulo. xliii.

LIke as / state of noblesse / that is to knowe / the noble men be moost set on hyght in the honoures & worshyppes of this worlde / In lyke wyse it is good reason that they be adourned with vertues / whiche for to say propryly is the moost noblesse / for without vertue nothynge is noble / and this wytnesseth Tumall / whiche sayth / there is nothynge that maketh man noble but vertue / and this sentence appereth well. Boece in his boke of consolacyon whiche sayth / that the name of noblesse is but a vayne thynge / but it be lyghtened with vertue & to this accordeth al the auncyent auctours generally. Then after all these sentences it is a necessary thynge to all theym / that call themselfe noble / to be vertuous / that is to saye well manered / & also that they hate all vyce & flee frome all vnfyttynge thynges / whiche ben contrary to noblesse / & that they loue & to lowe all goodnesse / and good condycyons. And for bycause / I haue declared here tofore some of these vertues concernynge to the same / I wyll no more speke of them at this tyme. But I wyll passe ouer & speke of the fourth good condycyon / I haue shewed here tofore / whiche is necessary to all good knyghtes & nobles / and that is this / he ought to be true in worde / in suretyes in his other & nowe I had purposed me to speke herof in this chappyter But for as moche as other tymes I haue charged myselfe in some of myne other volumes to speke of the blamynge of the ryght lewde vyce of lyenge / whiche is contrary to truthe and maye not sufficyentlyy ynough be reproued by me nor by none other / I wyll passe the more lyghtely ouer. ¶ But in as moche as it toucheth the noble men without fayle I maye some what saye nowe that yt ys a thynge that ys cuyll syttynge vnto ony noble man and full dyshonourable. /

That is to wete of them than ben so tought as some ben ꝑ no
tre we wrde cometh out of they⁹ mouthe / nor in they⁹ ꝓcom y-
les / nor in they⁹ fayth may no man trust no more than the symp
lest boye of the worlde / I speke of some suche as call themselfe
noble And truely yf suche people consydred well what noblesse
were / and howe that they deserue euyll for to haue the dygnyte
therof they ought to be ashamed and confounded / and haue ly-
tell cause to be ꝓroude for the noblesse of they⁹ kynne / whyche is
fayled in they⁹ owne persones And for to spoke of the goodnes
of trouthe I am not worthy to speke suffysyently therof nor no
man elles can saye ynoughe therof O howe it is gretely alow-
ed and commended in holy scrypture that god is trouthe and
so he calleth hymselfe And al the foundacyon of our fayth and
byleue is sette vpon that / al the feate of the ꝑhelosophres and
they⁹ study was no thynge elles but for to seeke and serche
out the trouthe And this wytnesseth Aristotle in his Meta-
physyke / whyche he founded vpon trouthe / in whyche booke he
speketh notably therof for he sayth that all moral ꝑhylose-
phy is founded vpon trouthe and without that all that euer
we maye do in this moral lyfe maye not profyte vs Alas the-
se noble auncyentes whyche had at that tyme nooke knowlege in
the deuyne lawe loued rather to dye than be false of they⁹ fay-
the or to lye lesynges Than what shame sholde it be to them
that ben crystened / that for a lytell thynge or nought wyll lye /
for / where themselfe that is ꝓpre to here: And of this we maye
shewe dyuers ensamples as of a duke of Athenes whyche was
by fortune taken in a batayle notwithstondynge that his per-
tye had the better Than his aduersarye whyche had hym in
his pryson / wolde haue constrayned hym that he and his Cyte
sholde haue graũted a truage payable yerely to ꝑ men of Athe
nes / so vpon ꝑ condycyõ he sholde be delyuered free & quyte / &
yf he wolde not graũte herto he sholde dye a myscheuous deth

But the worthy [illegible] answered and sayd that he had promysed & sworne to [illegible] of Rome to mayntayne them & kepe them in theyr [illegible] exception & fraunchyses / so that by hym they sholde not [illegible] payshed nor brought in wrle case. And also it sholde [illegible] thē to so grete parturbyce & losse of one man as [illegible] theyr possessyons of as good a pryce or a better than they sholde gete vpon this conquest ynge of theyr trouthe and it were ones lost. And thus he had suche sayche & lore to his subiectes for to holde that he promysed them & he chase rather for to dye thā to be ayenst his promyse. ¶ There was a greate feate and kepte well his trouthe / the noble Romayne prynce whiche Valere speketh of & was named Actylyus Regulus / whiche after that he had dyscomfyted a batayle and a grete hoost of the Cartagyneces they of Cartage for to auenge themselfe sent for Xantyppus a kynge of Lacedemone & taught a newe batayle / whiche batayle fortuned to be ayenst the consule Actylyus / so that he was dyscomfyted and hymselfe taken. So when it came to the ende of fyue yere / Orose sayth that the Cartagyneces sente theyr embassadours to Rome & with them this noble man Actylyus / but they made hym swere vpon his goddes that yf case were that they coude not accorde that he sholde retourne agayne to pryson & this was theyr message to the Romaynes that they sholde yelde agayne all & pryseners that were taken in the fyrst batayle / and they wolde yelde them agayne this noble knyght Actylyus / And whan the Senatours of Rome had well vnderstonde this message / they besought this noble man Actylyus that he wolde gyue them counsayle in the sayd matter / as ferre as his wysdome wolde gyue hym. But this noble knyght sette not so moche by his persone that he wolde counsayle them nor aduyse theym & for his persone onely they sholde delyuer so grete a quantyte of enemyes for hym. For he sayd it was not for the comen profyte

that so many men sholde be gyuen for one man. And thus this
noble man wente home agayne to Cartage where that he knewe
we will he sholde haue grete tourmentes for he knewe ful wel
ỳ grete cruelte of the Cartagyences. But he loued rather to
dye thã to lyue and he forswore of that he had promysed to ỳ
Romaynes. ¶ And syth it cometh to the purpose that we spe-
ke of prysoneres for to shewe more of the customes of Rome.
That is to wete/when the prysoneres of Rome were yelded in
as moche as ony prynce of Rome had goten the playne victo-
ry of the aduers party whiche helde them in prysō/when the
consule that is to say the prynce was retourned home agayne
to Rome/and ỳ he sholde entre in to ỳ towne/in his tryumphe
lyke as it is sayd before/ỳ prysoneres sholde go before ỳ chay-
re with chapelettes of sylke on they⁹ heedes/whiche were made
of Velued/and some of Beuers/as Valere sayth/and Tytus
Lyuyus saythe that they⁹ hedes was shauen in token ỳ they
were out of seruage/& bothe myght happen well to be/for they
sayd than that the Chapelettes betokened lordshyp & fredome
¶ Yet to the purpose that a man sholde kepe his trouthe/and ỳ
it wyll do harme and a man breke it/It happened that Hany-
ball the Emperoure of Cartage was dyscomfyted by the Ro-
maynes in the seconde batayle/as Tytus Lyuyus recyteth
in the ende of his .x. booke. The Cartagyences were constray-
ned to requyre the Romaynes of peas/for the whiche they sen
te they⁹ embassadoures to Rome. And whan they hadde purpo
sed before the Senatoures the effecte of they⁹ matter and the
cause of they⁹ comynge. Then for bycause that they of Carta-
ge had quytte them vntruely in they⁹ promyses before tyme to
the Romaynes in they⁹ couenauntes & othes/whiche they had
made before/was sayd vnto them these wordes. By what ma
nere of goddes doo ye swere the peas nowe to vs/syth ye haue
deceyued and be forsworne by them that ye were swore vpon

before tyme. Then one of the emballadoures whiche was called Polyphuball answered and sayd/we were nowe by theym that we ware before tyme/ & them ye ought gretely to thanke and owe them good wyll/ for as moche as they haue venged you well vpon vs for brekynge of our othe. ¶ 5 5 5 5 5 5

¶ The fyrste good condycyon that a worthy man sholde haue. Capitulo. 7 cxiii.

I haue sayd here before that the fyrst good condycyon that he whiche is a good man of armes sholde desyre to haue is that he sholde loue worshyp aboue all thynges. And for bycause that it is an open thynge that he sholde so desyre/ shall suffyse me to proue my reasons by good ensamples of the worthy auncyentes without seechynge of any other argumentes. ¶ The worthy Themystocles/ and noble knyghtes/ whiche I haue spoken of before tyme in this booke loued and coueted so moche the worshyp of knyghthode/ that it was in his herte/ lyke as a sharpened pyll whiche byente soo sore in desyres of worshyp/ that it wolde lette hym haue noo peas. Then it was asked hym of other knyghtes why he occupyed hymselfe so gretely without reste. Than he answered & sayd/ for bycause ꝑ the fayre & byghe knyghthodes of myne auncetryes & theyr grete victoryes enflambeth my courage to folowe theyr traces/ so ꝑ I myght attayne to gete parte of theyr excellent renownes by my trauayle & exercyse in arme. But for bycause ꝑ I se myselfe so ferre from theyr grete actes/ it maketh me busy & full of thought/ whiche wyll not lyghtly leue me. This good knyght was none of theym ꝑ for one lytell good dede/ thought that he had done many excellent dedes/ & was in ꝑ tyme of Themystocles ꝑ duke of Athenes & was in the batayle that was called the batayle of Maraton

ayenst the pertyens/lyke as Iustyne recordeth in the seconde
boke of his storyes whiche comendeth gretely his vertue and
his grete knyghthode/whiche batayle was meruaylous gre-
te and fyers and by the manhode & worthynes of this knyght
they of Athenes gate the victory. And yet he thought that he
had done but ryght a lytell thynge. Also for by cause that some
mayntayne and say that there is no honoure but in rychesse/ &
without rychesse honoure myght not be had? I saye sauynge
the reuerence/that opynyon is false and vntrue. For let vs sup-
[illegible] honoure be not gyuen at this day as the auncyentes
that is vertuous [illegible] vertuous/but be gyuen to
me/ & gretely alowed in his [illegible]
more good of hym and more reuerence longeth [illegible]
men showe or doo vnto hym/whiche laude & prayse ynge as me
semeth is more to commende than the other thought to be ỳ ye
the poore and the other ryche/to whome before his vylage men
wyll gyue a greate recommendacyon/and behynde his backe
wyll curse hym for his vyces. And so to ỳ purpose in olde tyme
they⁹ vertues was they⁹ worshyp/ and not rychesse/ wherfore
men dyde gretter payne in those dayes for to gete vertues than
rychesses or ony other treasures. And of this we haue in the sto-
ryes of Rome by the wyll of all the Senatours that is to saye
of al the prynces of the counsayle/was ordeyned that this noble
knyght Cyronatus for his grete vertues & manhode was cho-
sen to be made a dyctatour/whiche was the grettest estate of
Rome/ lyke as a mã myght say an emperour/ whiche story is
ryght profytable to be herde/as Tytus Liuyus sayth/to the
that desyre manhode & worshyp/more thã rychesse/for he was
a passynge famous mã/& yet he was ryght poore. And for his
grete manhode & worthynes/ he was the man in the worlde ỳ

the Romaynes had moost the trust trusted for bycause that he was so gretely trusted amonge the Romaynes/ it happened ꝑ a grete hoost of theym of Rome whiche were lente ayenst they: enemyes/ were so sore constrayned by they: enemyes that they were layne to take a felde and dyche it/ and pale it aboute too saue them from they: enemyes And when they of Rome herde therof they toke out a nombre of knyghtes with a grete multytude of people for to sende to the reskowes of they: people that were belyeged/ than were they dyscomfyte of a good chyeftayne: where vpon they sente vnto the house of this worthy man whiche dwelled without Rome & there they founde hym in ryght symple maner consyderynge the grete estate of his perso-
[illegible] as soone as he herde of the grete daungere of
wyldome & his manhode dyscomfyted them ꝑ they were belyeged
ꝑ Romaynes/ and whan they were dyscomfyted he departed the good ꝑ was goten in the felde amonge his people whiche were causers of the dyscomfyture of the felde/ and not to them that were belyeged for he blamed them gretely & he deposed ꝑ consule ꝑ led them of his owne cost: bycause he wolde suffre hym selfe to be belyeged in his lodgynge/ whiche lodgynge he had enforced with dyches and a grete pale. Than he sayd that mā was not worthy to haue an office of so grete a dygnyte & worshyp as to be a consule to suffre hymselfe to be closed aboute/ be hauynge suche a people with hym/ but trusted more in his pale & his dyches than in the manhode of his people. Also the armes of ꝑ Romaynes were not acustomed to be worne in places closed. Yet of the same ꝑ the auncyent men prayse more the vertues than ryches/ Valere telleth in the thyrde chapytre of his fourthe boke of a noble knyght ꝑ was of a worshypfull

lygnage that after the tyme that he hadde doone many notable dedes of hyghe and myghty batayles a penste the Wolques & in other places alsoo/ found taken one of they; castelles / whiche was passynge myghty and stronge that was called Conolen for whiche cause afterwarde he was named Conolannus in his sure name/ whiche was a grete rewarde for his demerytes and a grete worshyp in those dayes & that worshyp he refused not. But as for other grete rewardes of good he sette not by / for it was offred hym after ỳ customes of Rome whiche was ordeyned for worshypful men ỳ had deserued an honored Journays of londe / ỳ is to knowe as moche londe as a plough myght ere in an hondred dayes. Also he sholde haue .x. pryseners of the best that he wolde chose of them that were taken at that [illegible] and .x. tyche horses wel armed and ordeyned for ỳ warres of all [illegible] grene/ and as moche syluer as he myght bere / but that had [illegible]lde he none but a prysener that had ben his hoste ghe to qupa[illegible]ym grete fauoure before tyme/ whiche he thoughym of his pry[illegible]s goodnes/ and soo he dyde/ for he pardoned in to bataylle and [illegible]aue hym a good courser for to bere hym that men wyll neuer [illegible]ce for whiche vertue valerye sayche he chalese/ or elles of that [illegible]che he gate more worshyp/ of that ỳ so ỳ tell/ or refusynge of to [illegible]ceyued/ that is to knowe of takynge gyfte. 2 2 2 2 2

¶ Yet of the same/ and howe men [illegible]yped in olde tyme the worshypfull knyghtes after they; [illegible] 5 5 5 5 5

¶ Contynuynge our purpose that in [illegible]ng the auncyentes loued better worshyp than ryches [illegible]as euery worshypful mã ought to do/ valerye speketh of ỳ last Scypyon Nasyca. Thay ỳ last for bycause there were two Scypyons whiche were bothe so worthy ỳ no man coude well deserue

one from the other in worthynes. And for because that bothe of them conquered Surrye by grete trauayle & many batayles wherof the fyrst conquered it for the Romayns/and after that it was rebelled. The other conquered it agayne with grete dyf fyculte/ Neuertheles they were bothe called Assyrians / But this last destroyed the Cyte of Cartage/ & the cyte also of Ro me/and helde warre ayenst the gaules whiche ben called nowe Frenshe men. And he warred also ayenst the Lumbar des & had the victory of them. Also after all these victoryes he wolde departe the honours & the goodes to the knyghtes whi che had ben at ỳ conquestes. Then he cõmaunded lyke as was the vsage at ỳ tyme ỳ men sholde bryng vnto the chyefe tayne or to ỳ prynce of the batayle all ỳ worshypfull actes that ỳ wor shypfull knyghtes & men of warre dyde/for there were certay ne men lyke as we may say heraudes nowe a dayes / whiche were ordeyned to do suche thynges / & they had greate charge for to take good hede whiche men dyde they/ deuoyre to ỳ entẽ te ỳ they myght be wel rewarded after they/ deserues/& suche as dyde not they/ parte / sholde be rebuked / So amonge all other there was one knyght ỳ quyt hymselfe so well in ỳ felde ỳ so= me sayd he had wel deserued a certayne Jewel of golde ỳ was ordeyned to be worne vpon ỳ arme of suche folkes as had done suche semblable prowesses as he had done/& this Jewell was called Armelles. Thã Sypyon made enquyre of this knyght whyder he had done ony grete prowesse before ỳ tyme/ or elles ỳ suche aduenture happened fall to hym at ỳ scalon/ thã it was fou̇de ỳ it was ỳ fyrst grete prowesse ỳ euer he dyde before. but they sayd ỳ hym semed to be of good wyt & of manly courage. Sypyon thought he wolde assay hym/& lete call hym vnto his presence & made to gyue hym a some of golde lyke as we myght say of .lx. pyces/ eyght largely & plenteously / & sayd to hym ỳ shalte be payde lyches for thy good dedes/but not in worshyp

l.ii.

whan this knyght whiche had receyued ꝑ golde herde hym say
so he was shamefast & passynge sory. And anone he toke ꝑ gol-
de and cast it downe at ꝑ fete of Scypyon. Then it was asked
hym whether he had leuer to be rewarded and worshypped by
the sygnes of manhode and prowesse, or elles to be rewarded in
money for his noble dedes. He sayd he had leuer haue worshyp
than the rewarde of money. Then Scypyon prayse hym gre
tely and loued hym better than he dyde before. And for becau-
se that he sholde be constaunt and perseuerynge in armes ma
de gyue hym ꝑ sygne of syluer whiche was ordeyned for them
ꝑ had done semblable actes of the prowesse ꝑ he had done hym-
selfe at ꝑ Bournay, and bad hym that he sholde contynewe &
gete another ꝑ was made of golde & other sygnes also ꝑ was
ordeyned for them ꝑ were worshypfull. And Scypyon shewed
this, for because ꝑ honoure ought not to be gyuen entyerly for
one good dede, whiche by aduenture cometh at some one tyme
but he wolde ꝑ it sholde parseuer in mãy dedes & good werkes

¶ Howe Lechery & delytes ben often tymes cause to dystrou
ble a man that he maye not gete worshyp and valyaunce
Capitulo. xliiii.

For to gete worshyp he that desyreth to optayne it in ar
mes, in whiche matter we be in this partye of the boke
And semblably in all maners that worshyp may be founde in
lyke as a man ought to pursue all thynges that ben conuenable
to come to worshyp, in lyke wyse he sholde eschewe all thynges
that may lette hym from it, or trouble hym of his entente. And
for because that Isyndre in wrytynge ꝑ amonge all other vy-
ces the vyce of delyte & lechery is that moost destroyeth ways
the good dedes of them whiche had begon of longe tyme before
to prouyte in worshyp, notwithstondynge lyke as Isaur treated

here tofore in spekynge to prynces/ & nowe is necessary to pro-
ued of all other ỳ occupy the feate of armes. And that it is ne-
cessary also to shewe howe they sholde eschewe theese vyces be-
fore reherced/we wyl bryng to mynde dyuers ensamples wher
of ben founde in stories of auncyentes. ¶ The hoost of ỳ gre-
te Anthyocus kynge of Perce & Dayse/ happened by dyuerse
tymes to ouercome ỳ Romaynes/and often tymes put them
in grete affraye. And after ỳ they had by dyuers tymes ouerco
me them in the partyes of Grece they wente to reste them al ỳ
wynter in Calcedy in whiche londe the vyces aboue reherced
were gretely vsed that is to say in delytes in lechery/in play
es and dysportes as longe as wynter lasted/in soo moche that
the people of this hoost afore sayd were made pasynge lasce in
theyr dedes. Then it happened as Macrobe sayth/when An-
thyocus the prynce wolde haue gone agayne vnto the warre
vpon the Romaynes/toke the musters to se the strengthe and
the noblesse of his hoost/and asked of Hanyball whiche was at
that tyme with hym whether he had people ynowe with hym
for to fyght with the Romaynes/to whome Hanyball answ-
ered sayngc that he had people ynowe/notwithstondynge that
he was ryght a couetous mā. But this answere was not suf-
fycyent to the entente of Anthyocus/for he wolde haue asked
whether he had puyssaunce ynoughe to ouercome the Romay-
nes. And hanybal whiche had by dyuerse tymes proued theyr
strensthe and vertue and sawe that the knyghtes of Anthyo-
cus were fallen in to grete delytes and pleasaunces/and more
full of boost ynge than of good dedes of knyghthode answered
and sayd/ The Romaynes ought to holde them contente with
the rychesse that was in the hoost/notwithstondynge that they
were ryght couetous people/and it happened euen to be so as
he reteined. For notwithstondynge that this prynce whiche in
stories is called the grete Anthyocus was soryche & of so grete

myght that he sente in a batayle ayenst ꝑ Romayns an hon-
dred and nyne olyfaūtes whiche bare every of them a towre
vpon his backe made of tymbre in whiche was grete multytude
of men of armes. & his hooste was so greete that it couered mon-
tayynes and valayes / yet was he at the last ouercomen with ꝑ
Romayns. ¶ Yet to this purpose that delytes and swete geete
eatyng maketh lesse and febleth the courages of men / some saye
that the Cyte of Capoues was ryght ryche and well enuyron-
ned with walles / and as to goodes it was the rychest Cyte of
all the londe of Campanye / but by the greete wordynesse ryches
it was enclyned all to delytes and Recherysa for the whiche as
soone as theis dyces had dompnacyon it felle in delyne by the
whiche it wered feble in defence of it selfe ffor whiche cause it
was subdued by bondemen / wherfore it is to be noted that by
the inconuenyentes of this dyce foloweth many greete myschy-
ues ffor the whiche euery man that is worshypfull ought to ta-
ke hede to eschewe that cuyll dyce / whiche maye be cause of ta-
kynge awaye of greete honoure of prynces / and in lyke wyse of
all other persones. ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ ℒ

¶ Howe the olde auncyentes guerdoned ꝑ good dedes of wor-
thy men after they deserues / and not after fauoure. And also
of the honoures that they dyde vnto hym. Capitule. xlv.

Owe to come agayne to our fyrste purpose that ꝑ
good men of armes ought rather to loue worshyp
than ony other thynges / we haue proued ryght
ynough / and haue shewed by dyuers ensamples
howe the olde worshypfull men were coueityse for
to gete worshyp / and also howe they were rewarded for they
good dedes / And yet we wyll shewe one ensample howe these
rewardes were gyuen without fauoure. Valere sayth ꝑ whā

a noble mā of Rome ꝑ was called Calpurynus Pyle was ma
de consule & prynce of a grete hoost/& by his manhode & prow-
esse had delyuered Cecyle by dyuers grete batayles/& sholde
come to gyue ꝑ rewardes to his people after ꝑ Romayne custo
mes euery mā after his deseruynge. Pis sayd Calpurynus
had a sone whiche was ryght a worthy knyght/& for the good
dedes ꝑ he had done in the batayle/they ꝑ were reporters of
ꝑ worshyppfull actes ꝑ men dyde/Juged hym a crowne of gol-
de & sayd that he had ryght well deserued it. But the fader by
de longe debate ayenst it/and sayd that the other had deserued
it better than he/notwithstondynge at the last thoughe the fa
der were neuer so lothe ayenst it/yet of very ryght was Juged
hym to be rewarded with the crowne by the comon voyce/and
trust truely he had leuer haue worne that crowne as they vsed
to were them in those dayes than to haue ben rewarded with a
grete some of golde. Yet more of the honoure that men dyde
in that tyme to suche as were worshyppfull warryours/sush-
che worshyp was more desyred than ony other thynge in the
worlde at that tyme. Valere telleth whan ꝑ ony man had done
ony dede in armes passynge ony other men in valyaunce and
worthynesse. The Romaynes caused to make his ymage ry-
ght nobly and set it in a certayne place of worshyp whiche was
ordeyned for the nones/and vnder them made wryte theyr na
mes and theyr sure names and the grete prynceypall dedes ꝑ
they had done/& thus they dyde for bycause they sholde alway
be had in mynde/& ꝑ other men sholde take ensample of they-
re worthynesse/to that entente that they sholde payne themselfe
for to gete worshyppes & honoures/& in lyke wyse they dyde
by ꝑ clerkes. For & there were ony solempne phylosophre or ony
man or woman that passed other souerayncly in shotynge or in
ony scyence lyke as ꝑ sage sybyle/or elles a werke man ꝑ cou
de carue ymages ꝑ neuer was sene none suche lyke they had.

certayne thynges ordeyned for the nones / whiche was grete worshyp to them & caused them to set theyr attendaunce more ententyfely vpō theyr occupacyon. ¶ And thus as ye here they were set in thole dayes all in couetyse of worshyp / whiche couetyse Valere preueth by ensample that the vertuous man wyl certaynly that honour laude / and reuerence be gyuen to hym lyke as we may lay by Scypyon Affrycan ỳ ryght vertuous man / whiche made sette the ymage and the fygure of Ennius the poete amonge the ymages of the noble men of his lygnage for bycause that he had commended in his dytees the noble actes of this Scypyon Affrycan. ¶ And for bycause that some men mygh̄t say ayenst this opynyon arguynge that honoure and glory ought not to be desyred in this worlde / but be holde as for nought / Valere sheweth howe they whiche in theyr bookes techeth / that glory and honoure ought be sette at nought / desyre it themselfe and wolde haue it as other haue / and sayeth in this wyse that glory is not dyspysed of them that enforce themselfe to teche the dyspysynge of the same / for they set the names of them dylygently in theyr volumes and bookes whiche they haue drawne out and wryten and cōmendeth the dyspysynge of glorye / in lowynge them that sette not therby / yet notwithstondynge they wolde haue glory / for bycause ỳ they wolde drawe to mynde theyr names by wrytynge in theyr bookes. ¶ And so to conclude this chapytre we saye that the good & worshypfull men ought and may desyre glory / and in dede they wyll haue it & they may notwithstōdynge ỳ Boece in ỳ thyrde boke of cōsolacyon / in ỳ .xii. prose holdeth ayenst & dyscōmendeth thē ỳ to moodynately secheth worldely glory / & not vpon cause as to ỳ spyrytuall lyfe. But for to lyue morally after ỳ actyfe lyuynge it is no dyce who that desyreth it for a juste cause. ¶ Here it speketh of the fyrte good condycyon that the worthy man of armes ought to haue. Capitulo. xlvi.

Ye fyrste good condycyon ꝑ the good man of armes
ought to haue as I haue layd here tofore is that he
ſholde be wyſe well aduyſed & cautelous in dedes
that maye fall in armes and in all maner feates of
knyghthode And for bycauſe that we wyll bryngē
to mynde by enſample the cautelous dedes of knyghthode &
worthy men that dyde ꝑ grete conqueſtes and grete thynges
in theyr tyme which maye be cauſers to bryngē luche thyn-
ges agayne to mynde to that entente that they in tyme ꝑ nowe
is maye vſe luche feates & not to be deceyued in them we wyll
ſhewe you here after folowynge lyke as auctoures recyteth &
alſo Valere that nameth luche ſubtyltees to ouercome & noye
his enemy Stratagones. But the fyrſt enſample we wyll ſpe
ke of Phyloſtratus that was duke of Athenes which as ſto
ryes ſayth was cyghe ſubtell & well aduyſed in all thynges
& ſpecyally in the feate of warre For true it was that they of
a Cyte of Grece that was called Megara bare it forthe vnder
dyſſymulacyon But in the tyme of this Phyloſtratus they of
Megera thought by a certayne wyle to fynde a meane to be a-
uenged vpon them of Athenes for they had not forgoten ꝑ gre
te hurtes and greues that they had done them before tyme ſo
they remembred them that the people of Athenes were yerely
acuſtomed to go in to the yle of Calere where the lady of Athe
nes wente on pylgrymage at a certayne day in the yere where
vpon they of Megera lete ordayne theyr nauye of ſhyppes
& thought they wolde auenge them on theyr enemyes ſemyn-
ge to thē that ꝑ Athenyences wolde take no hede of luche thyn
ges But this Phyloſtrates duke of Athenes whiche hadde a
knowlege of this thynge ordeyned that ꝑ ladyes ſholde holde
theyr purpoſe lyke as they had acuſtomed before tyme & that
they ſholde make greter araye & gretter feeſt thā they vſed be
fore tyme to ꝑ purpoſe that they of Megera ſholde not thynke

they were closped. Soo this Phyloctratus toke to hym a good
felaushyp of men of armes and wente before in to the Pleis
put hym in a buysshement and anone as the men of Megera
were come to londe he brake his buysshement and felle vpon his
enemyes and slue them euerychone. And whan this was done
Phyloctratus entred in to theyr shyppes / and toke with hym
many of the ladyes that were best besene and rychest arayed
and toke his course towarde Megera / to that entente ỳ they
of Megera sholde vnderstonde that it was theyr owne people
for bycause they sawe soo many ladyes come with them and
supposed also that they had gotten grete goodes withall. For
they knewe well theyr owne nauye & theyr tokens / & for ỳ gre
te Joye that they had of this dede euery man drewe to the porte
and they wente hastely to londe and kylled and slue the moost
partye of the people. And anone after toke the cyte. ¶ Darius
that was chosen kynge of Perce and Mede for the reuenge of
his hurte / assembled syxe hondred thousande men / as Justyne
sayth in his seconde boke for to destroye the Athenyences and
theyr londe. They of Athenes herde therof lente for socours to
Lacedemone and to other londes but they taryed passynge lon
ge. Then Mylcyades that was at that tyme duke of Athenes
whiche made to nombre his people and founde that he had but
x. thousande of his owne men / and a thousande of straungers
yet this worshypfull man hadde more trust to renne vpon his
enemyes then to tary for the helpe of them that were comynge
notwithstondynge many of his men helde a yenst it Neuerthe-
lesse he wente so hastely vpon them that or they coude be ware
or make them sicke redy they were amonge them / toke them
out of araye in suche wyse that they were dyscomfyted / soo by
this good wyle and manhode. xl. thousande dyscomfyted syxe
hondred thousande of the Perseyens. ¶ Valere sayth that Ha
nyball the Emperoure of Cartage hated gretely the ryght no

ble Romayne prynce that was named Fabyus Maximus for
bycause that he hadde done hym many greuous hurtes in ba
tayle/and at all tymes made grete resystence ayenst his grete
hoost. And Eutus Lynyus sayth also that he was the prynce
in Rome that Hanyball moost hated. This sayd Fabyus was
a dyctatour whiche was the souerayneste office of Rome & led
with hym a grete hoost where so euer he wente. Then this ha
nyball bethought hym on a wyle and laboured sore for to noye
Fabyus so that he toke his hoost & wente in to ytaly/and de=
stroyed all the lowe countre what with swerde & fyre except ȳ
londes & maners of ȳ dyctatour Fabyus Marymus/to that
entente that they of Rome sholde haue a suspeccyon that there
were made some alyaunce amonge them/and yet he dyde mo
re for he founde a waye to sende to Rome a letter closed whiche
came to the hondes of the counsaylours of Rome and was dy=
rected to Fabyus from Hanyball whiche was not at that ty=me
in the Eyte/and it semed by the contynewe of the letters that
there had ben bytwene them grete kamylyaryte & promyses/
by the whiche it semed that Hanyball was come to his entent
But and the Romaynes had not knowne the grete trouthe of
Fabyus/& the grete malyce of Hanyball it myght haue bene
cause of the destruccyon of this noble prynce.

¶ Of the wyle counsayle in armes that knyghtes sholde vse.
Capitulo. xlviii.

Dowe that al good prynces and knyghtly men ought to
be well aduyled & well vnderstonde of the condycyons
of the wyldome/& the malyce of his aduersary/& enquyre yf he
acustomed to vse in his werkynges cautelous & couerte ways
/it appereth that he ought to do it by suche ensamples as fo
loweth/whiche ought for to gyue a man cause for to kepe hym
selfe from suche malycyous persones/lyke as ȳ wyle man cou
sayleth and sayth/kepe the frome that persone that gouerneth

hymselfe by malyce. For when he seeketh fayrest to the / take best hede to thyselfe. For the malycyous man fareth as a catte that lyeth longe in a wayte for ỳ mouse / and as soone as he is ware of the mouse and cast for to take her / he wyll wagge his tayle as it were for loue. Euen lyke wyse ỳ frawdelent man wat cheth his poynte & his tyme by longe space / but whan he seeth his season and his houre than wyll he laughe vpon hym that he casteth to deceyue / & sodaynly he wyl renne vpon hym / lyke as it is wryten of a kynge ỳ was lorde of a grete party of Gre- ce ỳ was meruayllously full of frawde & passynge cautelous. This kynge hated moche the Romaynes & had passynge gre- te enuye to them. But for bycause ỳ he durst not playnly defye them for theyr grete power whiche he doubted gretely / vsed a wyle and fayned hymselfe gretely to be theyr frende for ỳ grete reputacyon that he herde of them. For he knewe well that the- re was no thynge that so moche ouercometh the herte of a mã as doth fayre gyftes fro whens that euer they come / wherfore he sente them often tymes grete presentes and fayre language wythall to the pryncypall counsaylours of Rome. And by this meane he vnderstode moche of theyr werkynge / and after this he founde many dyuers meanes for to anoye and hurte the Ro maynes. But whan ỳ Romaynes wolde haue gone vpon hym for to haue chastyed hym his good frendes ỳ he had goten be- fore at Rome were alway redy for to answere for hym & made his peas. And vnder this fourme he was ofte tymes saued ỳ the Romaynes made no warre vpon hym. Yet this cautelous kynge dyde more / for he fayned hymselfe that he had grete de- syre to go to Rome to se the grete magnyfycence of the Cyte / & offred hymselfe to the prynces to do them what seruyce that he coude / where vpon he was well receyued and gretely worshyp ped / & as longe as he was there he shewed so grete frendeshyp to the prynces that no man myght shewe more. But whã the

come to hym for to make hym ony disporte/anone he wolde make dyscorde amonge them/and fayned to euery man/ þ he sayd it for they? grete profyte/and prayed them to kepe it secretely/ tyll they sawe they? tyme/in so moche that he made hate amonge them/and whã he sawe that he had set hate ynoughe amonge them/ that he had well aduysed and vnderstonde the ordy naunce and the rule of the cyte he toke his leue and departed out of the towne. And as he wente out of the gates of Rome he spake so lowde that many men herde hym/sayenge that þ cyte of Rome was passynge stronge/but it was lyght for to wyn whot that had money ynoughe for to gyue: ¶ This ensample is to be noted and vnderstonde that of hym that is knowen an enemye and fraudelent withall. And also that he wyll be redy to gyue euyll counsayle/man beware of hym. ¶ For Guydesay th/that the goodes onely wyll be apeased onely by force of gyftes. ¶ Yet to the same purpose. Tarquynyus the kynge of Rome had holden a syege longe tyme before the cyte of Gabyne/ & myght in no wyse gete it. This Tarquyne had a sone whiche was ryght subtyll and thought to fynde a subtylte for to gete this cyte/and toke a knyfe and hurte hymselfe/and whan he had so done he sente pryuely in to the cyte/and shewed them howe þ his fader the kynge had beten hym/as farde foule with hym/where vpon he wolde be auenged yf he myght/and yf it lyked theym he wolde be they? frende with all his power/ and prayde them þ they wolde receyue hym in to they? cyte/ Then they of the cyte supposed þ he had sayd trouthe receyued hym with grete Ioye. Then he made a greuous complaynte vpon his fader/and he flatered them so well that within a lytell space they made hym as a mayster of the Cyte/and a souerayne. and whan he vnderstode that he was mayster of all he sente a mall yngere pryuely to his fader sayenge/ that cautele ouercometh all thynges. The kynge answered nothynge agayne but

semed that he was al pensyfe/and toke this messyngere with hym in to a garden where that he foūde many poppys/then he toke a lytell rodde and as he came by them he with the rodde smote of theyr hedes/and he wente so longe aboute that at the last he smote of all the grete poppy heedes and lefte neuer one. Then the messyngere asked of ỳ kynge whether he wolde ony thynge elles to his sone/he sayd ỳ he wolde sende noone other thynge. Then the messyngere came agayne to his sone & sayd that his fader sente hym noo answere agayne/but it semed by his countenaūce that he was wrothe/for as he came by many poppes in a gardyne he wolde alwayes smyte of all the grete hedes that he founde of the poppys. The sonne vnderstode well all his wordes & anone he founde a meane to make a surmyse vpon the grettest men of the Cyte sayenge that they had conspyred ayenst hym/and wolde delyuer the Cyte and hym also to the kynge his fader/& anone he made smyte of theyr hedes. And when there were no chyeftaynes lefte that durst say nay ayenst hym/he layde delyuered the Cyte vnto his fader. And of this story dyuers auctours maketh mencyon/and namely Pe tus Lyrpus. ¶ Also in the tyme that the Cyte of Rome was taken by the Gaules/whiche nowe ben called Frenshe men/& had besyeged the Capytoll whiche was impenable saue only by fammyne/and supposed for to do so wdede. But the Romaynes that were wyly people for to put theym that were without in dyspayre they toke suche goodes as they had and made grete relyefe/of golde/of breed/and flesshe/and of al maner of greynes/and caste it out ouer the walles in a fayre place where the Frenshe men myght hyde it. And when the frenshemen sawe this/they were gretely abasshed/and demed that they had grete plente of vytayles within them/whiche in dede they had not. Then dreewe they anone to treate of peas. ¶ Also valere sayth ỳ Hanyball before as he fought with ỳ Romaynes in ỳ grete

fyers batayle whiche was called ꝑ batayle of ꝑ Cance whiche was a dolorous & a heuy day for ꝑ Romaynes/ she vsed thre maner of wyles. For ꝑ fyrst he aduyled ꝑ he wolde haue ꝑ sone on his backe/ & ꝑ duste also whiche was pallynge grete for ꝑ grete wynde ꝑ blewe. Another wyle he ordeyned ꝑ as soone as ꝑ batayle began to ioyne a parte of his people sholde make a sẽblaunce for to flee/ & soo it was for he had layde a bussheme ꝑ ꝑ ony man folowed them they sholde renne vpon them ꝑ lay in the bussheme/ & so it happned to fall/ for certayne of the Romaynes folowed ꝑ chace & came there as the bussheme lay/ & there they fell on the Romaynes & slue them euerychone. Also he ordeyned ꝑ a party of his people sholde yelde them anone in goodly wyle to ꝑ Romaynes/ & so they dyde. Then as the maner was at ꝑ tyme they were vnarmed & set behynde ꝑ batayle/ & these mẽ had couertely vnder theyr skynne shorte swordes & wel cuttynge/ & whan ꝑ Romayns were on hõde in ꝑ batayle they layde doune out theyr swordes & fell behynde them & cutte theyr legges & slue moche people/ & by this meane sayth Vale re was ꝑ strength of Rome ouercome by ꝑ malyce of Affryke.

¶ Yet enlample of the wyse cautele in armes.

Peryeles that was duke of Athenes was of very force dryuen by them of Peloponense in to a place that was cloſed aboute with many grete mountayns/ where there were but two yssues for to go in or out/ & whan he sawe that he was thus enclosed/ anone he lete make ayenst the one of the yssues a stronge depe dytche/ semynge that it was made for bycause that his enemyes sholde not entre in at that place. And at the other yssewe he was hymselfe with hys people as they wolde yssewe out whan theym lyste by force. The enemyes whiche supposed that he wolde not yssewe out at the other place/ for bycause the dytche was made so meruayllous stronge/ wente all

to the other ylle we for to kepe that/ and there they made watche that they sholde not come out. Then anone Perycles made laye ouer bydges of tymbre that he hadlette make & ylued out sauf/ he and all his people. Also the hoost of Rome sholde passe by the forest of Latyne for to go vpon them of Uoyens And when they of Uoyens sawe that they wente in to ỹ sayd forest and sawed many of the trees as good as in two and put themselfe in a bussheme[illegible] fast by/ and anone as the hoost of ỹ Romaynes was entred in to the forest ỹ Uoyens assayled out on euery syde and put downe the trees that were nerte theym vpon the Romaynes/ and by that meanes they discomfyted & slue all the Romayne hoost. Also Alysaunder the kynge of Epyre had grete warre with the Elyryens/ And vpon a tyme he bethought hym on a cautele and ordeyned hym a grete many of garmentes suche as ỹ Elyryens vsed to were vpon theyr harneys/ and anone lete cast them vpon his owne meyne/ and when he vnderstode that his enemyes were come nyghe vnto hym/ he cõmaunded his men whiche were arayed in these garmentes/ & commaunded them to sette fyre in the houses aboute them/ whiche was in his owne londe/ and whan the Elyryens sawe that the houses were sette on fyre they supposed that it had ben done by theyr owne felawshyp/ for/ bycause they were arayed in suche garmentes as they vsed/ and ranne fast to helpe them/ and passed thrughe a strayte passage for to come to them/ And there this sayd Alysaũdre had layde a grete busshement/ & when they were in ỹ strayte the busshement braste vpõ them/ & slue them euerychone. Also they that fought ayenst a people ỹ were called Peryceres/ toke a spye of theyr enemyes and slue hym/ and toke all his clothes and caste theym vpon one of theyr owne men that was lyke to his bygnes/ and made hym goo vp to an hyghe hyll where he myght se the hoost of his enemyes/ and anone he made a sygne that they sholde co-

me forthe in al that they myght/ for they dyde. For they wende
it had ben theyr owne ſoye whiche they ſente forthe/ & ſo by this
meane they were ouerth. owne/ for they came amonge ȳ buſhe
ment of theyr enemyes/ where they were all ſlayne and taken.
Alſo Lucullus had nede of fowdyours and ſo he waged a
certayne nombre of men of Macydone/ And whan this Lucu
lus was ſom what approched nyghe his enemyes/ they of Ma
cedone whiche doubted to haue the worſe of the batayle depar
ted out of the hooſt for to go to the other partye/ And whan Lu
culus ſawe this myſchefe/ anone he made all the hooſt folowe
them in ordynaunce of batayle/ whan the enemyes ſawe them
come on vnder ſuche fourme/ they ſuppoſed that they of Ma
cedone came vpon them to begyn ȳ batayle for bycauſe ȳ they
came ſo before the other/ & forth withall they ſhotte & caſt theyr
dartes in all that euer they myght/ where as they thought for
to haue yelded them before/ & with ȳ Lucullus came on w̄ his
people/ & by ȳ meane he had ȳ felde & diſcomfyted his enemyes

Yet of the ſame.

Aulyus Nobylyus happened on a tyme to be ſo ſore op
preſſed with his enemyes ȳ of neceſſyte he was compel
led to fyght w̄ them of Samyte/ whiche had a paſſynge grete
hooſt/ & he had but fyght a ſmall felaweſhyp whiche were fyg
ght ſore afered for bycauſe they ſawe themſelfe ſo fewe & theyr
enemyes ſo many/ whan Aulyus ſawe ȳ grete feere of his peo
ple remembred hym ſelfe vpon a wyle & ſayd vnto them/ Lyrs
quod he yonder people ȳ ye ſe ben halfe outes/ for I haue ſo cor
rupte them with good that within a whyle they wyll tourne to
our partye whē ȳ batayle is ones begon/ & for to make his oppy
nyon good he borowed all ȳ money ȳ he coude of his people/ as
who ſayth/ to pay all ȳ leggyon of people ȳ he had goten to be on.

his partye. Plegyon is in nombre. vi. M. vi. C. lx vii. & in truste of this they toke them suche wyse to fyght that by the meanes of theyr grete courage/and the wysdome of Julyus they had the victory of theyr enemyes. Ullo Hanymedas the duke of Thebes sholde fyght ayenst them of Lacedemone/& for bycause that he wolde encrease the courage and ꝑ hardynesse of his people made them for to assemble before hym in a certayne place. And there he shewed vnto them how ye ꝑ for very trouthe the Lacedemones had ordeyned yt so were that they had ꝑ victory that they wolde sle all the men/women/and chyldren of the Cyte of Thebes. For whiche cause they of Thebes whan they vnderstode this they were so moued with angre that they fought lyke wode men/& so by that wyse they ouercame theyr enemyes. And yet to the purpose that it longeth to a cheuetayne or to a condytoure of an hoost specyally that he sholde be wyse and well aduysed as well in dede as in worde/folowyth ꝑ ensample as ye shall here afterwarde/whan the last Kyng Hyppon ledde his hoost by see in to Kyrke happened as he wente out of his shyp for to go to londe/he fell downe flatte on the Cyte/for whiche cause his people were strongly abashed and thought they sholde not spede well. When this wyse prynce whan he sawe his knyghtes and his people were so sadde & halfe mated in theyr opynyon/anone he thought to ease theyr hertes and sayd with a merry spyryte whan he was vp. Loo fela wes quod he/here is a tygne of pollicyon/nowe go we hens my good knyghtes/for I haue now wonne Kyrke/and thus he recomforted them/& euen as he sayd it fell. Sertorius was gone with a grete hoost of Romaynes ayenst a people that were enemyes to Rome/and sodaynly there appered to them a merueyllous tygne. For all the heedes of the men of armes/& all ꝑ brestes of theyr horses semed as it had ben al blode. This Sertorius whiche was a wyse cheuetayne sawe that his pe-

ple were sore aferde/ and had grete merueyle of this straunge sygne/ sayd vnto them with a glad countenaūce. Now blessyd be god quod he/ for I vnderstonde by this that we shal haue ȳ victory of our enemyes. For nowe I know well that this is ȳ party that must be made rede with the blood of their enemyes Yet for to speke of suche folkes that ben so well aduysed that by their good wysdome and prety cautelles can put away euyl suspeccyon of the people/ ware sayth/ whan Hanyball ȳ gret conquerour of Auffryke and Cartage was fledde for socoure to ȳ kynge of Crete for fere of the Romayns after that ȳ good fortune was tourned to the euyll/ he perceyued that they of the same countre had enuye at hym for/ bycause of the grete victorys whiche were fortuned hym before tyme/ and helde hym there in maner for suspect/ and fered hym lest he wolde take ony enterpryse vpon them. Anone therfore he bethought hym vpon a wyle to put them in a surete that they sholde haue no suspeccyon vpon hym. And also that he myght saue that ytell good that he had brought with hym from Ispoylynge he lete take coffers and tertayne vessellles & fylled them full of sede as thoughe it had ben his treasoure/ his Iewelles/ and his vessell/ and brought it vnto ȳ Temple of Diane ȳ goddes/ lyke as it sholde seme that he was ryche ynoughe to withstonde his euyl fortune/ for whiche cause they of Crete helde them euyll contente and were well appeased without ony suspeccyon.

Thus endeth the seconde parte of this booke.

¶ Here begynneth the thyrde partye of this boke/whiche is re
dyfyed to ꝑ vnyuersall people. ¶ The fyrst chapytre speketh how
ꝑ all maner of states ought to be gayned as one. ¶ a. xl viii.

After the matter that we haue spoken of here
tofore whiche touched ꝑ introduccyon of pryn
ces lyke as it is conteyned in the fyrste partye
of this boke. ¶ The whiche sayd pryncē or pryn-
ces we haue taken for the heede of the body of
Polycye/as it hathe ben shewed here tofore.
¶ And folowynge after that/in the seconde partye is shewed
to the enlygnement of the nobles/ and knyghtes/ whiche we
take for the hondes, and the armes/ we wyll nowe se we after

this/ with the grace of god to shewe in the thyrde parte of this
boke suche matters as we can fynde in the auctoryte of the ol
de auncyentes/ for the welfare and profyte of suche thynges as
longeth to ỹ remenaunt of ỹ body of Polycye. That is to kno-
we of the vnyuersall people that we take for the Body/ for ỹ legs
ges/ and for the fete/ to that entente that all maye be refered &
Joyned in one quycke body parfyte and hole. For lyke as ỹ bo
dy of a mã is dyscerpyle and dysfournied when he lacketh ony
of his membres. ¶ In lyke wyse the body of Polycye maye
not be parfyte ne entyre if these estates that we haue spoken of
here tofore be not well Joyned and assembled all in one/ so that
euery of them may helpe other/ and echone of them to exercyse
that office that they be called to/ whiche dyuers offyces ben or
dened for the conseruacyon of all ỹ hole body/ lyke as ỹ mem-
bres of a mannes body helpeth to gouerne and nourysshe all ỹ
body/ and as soone as ony of them fayleth/ of euery necessyte al
the body shall fele it/ & shal be displeased therby. Now we muste
shewe the maniere howe the last partyes of the sayd body may
be mayntayned in heale & prosperyte. For as me semeth they
be the sustaynours & here the charge of all ỹ surplus of ỹ sayd
body/ wherfore they haue nede of strengthe and myght for to
bere the wyght of the other partyes. For the whiche cause as
we haue sayd here tofore for the loue and the charge ỹ the good
prynce ought to haue to his subiectes and his people/ and also
of the offyce of the nobles whiche ben stablysshed for the garde
and defence of the sayd people/ we muste nowe speke of the loue
of the reuerence/ and obeysaunce ỹ the good people ought haue
to theyr prynce/ wherfore we wyll speke vnyuersally of all/ in
as moche as this matter toucheth to all estates in one loue/ in
one reuerence/ and one obeysaunce. ¶ But after warde in spe-
kynge some thynge touchynge ỹ augmentacyon of vertue in
theyr lyuynge/ & the maner of theyr conuersacyon may happen

I wyll touche thre maner of states dyfferences that ben in the
cyuell as none in the sayd vniuersall people. And for bycause
at some tyme there fall murmuracyons amonge the thre es-
tates afore sayd / that is to knowe the prynce / the knyghthode /
& the people. For bycause that it semeth to the one that ye other
do not well theyr parte in theyr offyces for whiche cause debate
myght fall amonge theym whiche is a thynge ryght preiu-
dycyable whā it so falleth. There is a moralyte fourmed i ma-
ner of a table to the same purpose. ¶ On a tyme there arose a
grete murmuracyon by twene ye body of man & his membres.
The bely playned fore of the membres and sayd ye they thou-
ght harme vnto hym & that they kepte hym not in cace as they
sholde do. The membres on the other syde playned on the bely
and sayd that they were very wery for laboure. And yet all ye
euer they myght laboure / in goynge / in conuyage / and trauay-
lynge was to ye bell for to fynde the bely / for he wolde haue all
and yet they myght not fyll it / wherfore they sayd ye they wolde
no more suffre suche payne ne suche laboure as they had done
before / for all that euer they myght do couth not fyll the bely.
wherfore they wolde leafe of theyr werke & let the bely gouerne
hymselfe as he wolde. Then ye membres leafed of theyr labou
re / and the bely was no lenger nourysshed. And anone the bely
began to wexe lene / and ye membres fayled & were feble. And
thus for dyspyte that the one had to the other all perysshed togy
der. In lyke wyse it muste fall when a prynce asketh more of his
people than they may bere / whiche that cause ye people to mur-
mure ayenst theyr prynce / and rebell by dyslobeysaunce. So for
suche maner of dyscorde all perysshyth togyder / wherfore I con
clude ye vnyon of accorde is ye conseruacyon of al ye hole body / & po
lycy / & thus wytnesseth Paulus / which sayth ye by concorde lyue
thynges encreas & by dyscorde grete thynges perysshe & fall to
nought. ¶ Of the dyfference of dyuerse people. ¶ a. plus.

For bycause þ the babylonyon where we be resydent in
as in the partyes of Fraunce/ notwythstondynge that
ye peynge of bookes & specyally suche bookes as touchech ma
ners & doctrynes/ whiche ought to be generall to þ dwellers in
al cõtrees/ for as moche as bokes be profytable & borne in to
dyuers countrees & regyons/ it shall suffyse vs to adresse our
worde & doctrync to þ people of Fraũce/ whiche worde & doctry
ne may semblably serue to al other regyons generally yt they
wyll vnderstonde it after þ entente of þ makynge for þ shew
ynge of good exãple/ for þ londes þ be gouerned by mé thro
ghout all þ worlde ben subiecte to dyuers establysshynges af
ter þ olde customes of cõtrees. Some be gouerned by electyõ
of Emperours/ Other be gouerned by succession of kynges &
some by one meane & some by other. Also there be Cytees & lon
des þ haue possessyon in lordshyp & be gouerned by prynces su
che as they wyl chose amonge thẽselfe/ & some lõdes there be þ
gouerne thẽselfe more by wyl chã by reason/ wherfore it happe
th oftetymes þ lyke as they chose thẽselfe by wyl/ lykewyse by
wyll they wyll depose them agayne/ & this gouernaũce is not
good ne profytable for þ welth of þ countre þ it is vsed in/ lyke
as Italy & many other places. Other there be also þ be gouer
ned by certayne lygnages of þ Cyte þ is called nobles/ & they
wyl suffre none other amõge thẽ but of þ lygnage of these no
bles for to entre into theyr cõsayles/ nor to haue þ rule of theyr
ordynaũces/ lyke as þ Venycyens do at Venyse whiche cyte frõ þ fyrst
foũdacyõ hyder to was neuer gouerned other wyse/ thee there
be þ be gouerned by theyr olde aũcyentes whiche be called El-
dermans/ & in some places the smallpeople gouerne & ben esta
blysshed euery yere a certayne of euery craftes/ & I beleue þ su-
che gouernaũce is most al þ world profytable/ & also it is not sene
þ it chaungeth lyghtly/ sythen it is begonne/ ne þ lõde where suche rule
is/ may neuer longe [illegible] gretly encreseth þ reaũ is good

But notwithstandyng I wyll leue the specifyinge hereof for bycause of shortnes of tyme/ and in this wyse was gouerned Boloyne the grete/ neuertheles I shalbe haue to moche to do for to speke particulerly of euery people. ¶ But for to chose the moost conuenable abilymge of the gouernaunce of polycye/ is onely the bryngyng of the people/ as Aristotle sayth in the thyrde boke of polycrates/ For he sayth that polycye of one is good that is to say the gouernaunce & lordshyp of one/ & yet he sayth it is but yuell good but of many it is full harde to be good/ for bycause of dyuers appetytes and wyllys that they haue. Than to our purpose I holde the people of Fraunce ryght well bielyded for syth the tyme that it began fyrst which cometh of the yssewe of Troyans/ it was neuer gouerned by straunge princes/ but of them that they came fyrst of from hens forth to hens forth/ for they haue alwaye regned euer gouerned them/ lyke as it appeareth in the olde storys of ry nature [illegible] among all [illegible] them to the people as a thynge be- Fraunce ben moost [illegible] the grace of god it is so that of obeysaunce/ whiche is ryght [illegible] the people of [illegible] great lands vnto them/ and in that [illegible] moost [illegible] grace.

¶ The obeysaunce that people ought [illegible] haue to theyr prynce. Capitulo. L

Pleaseth euer the good man that men prayse hym in his goodnes/ and though he be prayed it maketh no matter to them that be wyse men/ what so euer ony man saye/ lyke as I haue sayd before/ for it causeth men to delyte hymselfe the more to good dedes/ for lyke

as the wyse men wyll ofte ben sorrowfull & they⁹ hertes wyll haue
the counsayle of physytyans thoughe so be þ they fele no grefe
of no malady/ but yet to þ entente þ they may lyue in welfare
& helthe/ yelde them to haue a regemen for preseruynge of þ same
Then by this ensample we wyll comforte þ true people of
fraunce for to perseuer in þ good & faythfull loue þ they haue
customably at all tymes to they⁹ ryght noble & worthy & above
all other moost redoubted pryncis & to þ entente þ they shold
be vnderstonde & knowe þ in so doynge to they⁹ pryncis / they
do as vertuous & good people / shall be shewed here a declaracy
on of holy scrypture & other ensamples in lyke wyse accordynge
to þ same. ¶ For it is to know þ holy scrypture in dyuers places
sheweth þ the subiectes sholde meke themselfe & be redy to
obey they⁹ pryncis and souerayns / & saynt Poule speketh
þ same in a pystle þ he sente to þ Romayns in þ .xiii. chapytre
where he sayth þ euery creature lyuynge ought to be subiecte
to þ myghty souerayns / for þ puyssaūce þ pryncis haue / they
haue it by þ ordynaūce of god wherfore who þ resysteth apenst
they⁹ power he stombleth or mysgouerneth hymself apenst þ or
dynaūce of god. And yet saynt Poule wryteth ad titum in þ
thyrde chapytre amonyllyeth & exhorteth þ comen people to
be subiectes to they⁹ pryncis & to be gentyl & myghty men / And
semblably sayncte accordeth saynt Peter in his fyrst pystle /
he byddeth & sayth / be ye subiectes to your for
pryncis as ben good
in this wyse / let vs suppose [illegible] but to suche
vnto you cruell / yet yelde you subiectes
god & specyally to the kynge as þ moost excellent /
kes as people sente by god for þ vengeaunce of euyl doers & to
þ laude of them þ be good & do gode dedes / & for bycause þ he

people myght murmure of the trewages & tayles whiche they
ought pay to prynces/it is to vnderstonde þ it is a thynge ordey
ned & accepted of god/& of this saynt peter gyueth ensample i
holy scrypture & sheweth how þ subiectes ought not refuse to
pay þ is ordeyned by þ prynces/& of this same speketh sayne
Mathewe in þ euangylein þ. xvii. chappter how þ pharyseys
made aske of our lorde whether they ought to pay theyr tempol ge
ryon to Cesar þ emperoure or nay. Our lorde answered them
agayne & sayd/yelde to Cesar þ is his/& to god þ longeth to hym
Lo this is to vnderstonde þ good is dewe to pryncis. The sa-
me sayne Mathewe sayeth in his euangylein þ. xxii. chappters
to the same purpose how our lorde sent sayne peter to the sey/&
sayd vnto hym þ in þ mouthe of þ fyrst fysshe þ he toke he shol-
de loke within & he shold fynde a pece of money/& that he shol
de take þ same pece to them þ gadred the trewage of þ Empe-
roure in payment for the bothe/& thus our lorde hymselfe ga-
ue ensample to all maner of subiectes bothe in dede & in worde
to do reuerence & obeysaunce to theyr lordes & pryncis. And
yet to þ purpose of þ true people of Fraunce to theyr pryncis for
whiche goodnes & merite I trust þ our lorde hath saued them
from many perylles/& in lyke wyse euery subiectes ought to do
þ same wyse to theyr pryncis/& who þ dothe þ contrary hurte
& trouble shall fall vnto hym. And yet we wyl bryngy to myn-
de Valere & other auctours to our purpose & for this valere say
eth in the. vi. boke/in þ. viii. chappytre of þ loyalte & faythe þ one
the whiche was called Papyrius/had to his lorde/he vnderste
de þ his lorde was espyed of certayne folkes þ hated hym to þ
dethe/& that he myght not escape in no wyse & he were take/&
for bycause þ he wolde saue his lorde fro þ daunger he toke his
lordes gowne & gaue hym his/& toke hym his ryngy & he toke
his/& secretly þ lorde went out of the palays/& his man abode
styll for hym/& whan his enemyes came vpon hym he suffred

hymselfe to be slayne for his lordes sadch & sauynge of his lyfe
wherefore Valere sayth though he lobe that this narracyon be
but lytell & shorte yet at lenge goynge it is no lytell matter / &
for to touche of the cuyttes that cometh to the people namely of
rebellynge apenst the ryghte to ꝑ entente ꝑ a man maye tyn-
de mastery to kepe hymselfe therfro. Orosius Oronpeyns telleth
in his storyes howe ꝑ people of Cyte in Grece rebelled apenst
theyr lorde in so moche ꝑ they wolde haue slayne hym & for the
lorthall they slue his wyfe & his chyldren & al that were of his
lygnage / yet as it appereth alway ꝑ amonge ꝑ people there be
some of lesse cuyll than other. There was one of ꝑ Cytezyns ꝑ
was named Craton whiche whan he founde his lorde chased
away & dryuen in to hydeles for the fere that he had / yet wolde
not he flee hym but had grete pyte on hym & thought ꝑ he wol-
de saue hym from ꝑ deethe & hyde hym in a place where he my-
ght be saued / & the people wente ꝑ he had be fled. So whē they
had made an ende of this mischefe they thought too chose a
kynge amōge themselfe. But for bycause ꝑ they were in doubt
how amonge the whiche sholde be theyr kynge / they ordeyned
ꝑ one on ꝑ morowe before ꝑ sone rysynge al ꝑ people sholde alle
ble in a felde & whiche of them coude se ꝑ sone shyne fyrst shol-
de be theyr kynge. This Craton whiche had saued the kynge
bothe both came to hym in ꝑ nyght & aduysed hym counsayle by
what meane he myght se ꝑ sone fyrst in ꝑ morynge / to that en-
tente ꝑ he myghte be kynge / his lorde whiche thought to quyte
hym the goodnesse that he hadde doone vnto hym for sauynge
of his lyfe / counsayled hym / that whan all other men lokked to-
ward the East / that he sholde lokke towarde the Weste / and vpon
the Hyll. So it happened whan all the people were assembled
on the morowe and lokked entierly towarde the rysynge of
the sonne / this Craton whiche lokked euen contrary sawe the
sonne beames / the whyche smote agayn̄ the toppe of an hyghe

towre forth withal he shewed it to ỳ other people whiche coude not se ỳ lone that way as they loked. Then euery man was abashed & asked hym who had gyuen hym ỳ counsayle / & he tolde thé all togyder / & howe he had saued his lorde. So it happened longe after in the tyme ỳ grete Philyp duke of Burgoyne regned / ỳ herdemen spake of the grete treason ỳ these people had done to theyr lordes / he thought to auenge ỳ vnchristy dede / & wente to assayle ỳ cyte & take it by force. & dyde vpon them a grete puny peyn / & for bycause ỳ the kynge ỳ regned ouer them before was deed / he cõfermed this donacion to be kynge in ỳ same royalme / & ordeyned ỳ his chyldren sholde regne after hym for ỳ goodnes ỳ he had done to his lorde.

Here we begyn to spoke of the thre estates of the people / and fyrst of the clerkes & studyentes in scyences. Capitula. xl.

And to the cõmonte of the people be comprysed thre estates / ỳ is to knowe in ỳ Cyte of Paryse & also in other cytees / fyrst the clargy / ỳ bourgeyses / & the marchaūtes / & then ỳ comynyon of ỳ people / lyke as we may say men of crafte & labourers. Nowe we muste adupse what thynges we maye say ỳ ben profytable i gyuynge ensample to euerychone of these estates to lyue well & truely after his ordre / for bycause ỳ ỳ state of ỳ clargy is amonge all other / hyghe noble & worthy in honoure. I cast to adresse my matere & speke fyrst of them ỳ is to say of ỳ studyences as in the vnyuersyte of Paryse / & in other partyes. People well counsayled / ye people ỳ be wyse I saye to you ỳ dyscyples of clergye & of wysdome / whiche by ỳ grace of god & of good fortune / or of good nature / ben applyed to serche out the hyghnes of the clere trioyl synge sterre / ỳ is to knowe ỳ sterre of scyence / that ynge dylygently ỳ good treasour of ỳ clere & faithfull fountayne / shulde fyll yourselfe of ỳ pleasaūt

reflection ꝑ may somche auayle you & bryng you to wordly ꝓfyt for what thynge is more worthy to mā than scyence & the hyghnesse of cōnynge. Certaynly thou ꝓ desyrest it & employest thy selfe therto hath chosen a glorious lyfe: For by ꝓ thou mayst cōprehende ꝓ electyon of vertues & ꝓ eschewynge of vyces lyues as it styreth the to ꝓ one & defendeth ꝓ fro the other: for there is no thynge more parfyte than ꝓ treuthe & clerenesse for to vnderstande & knowe ꝓ parfytenes of thynges whiche can not be vnderstande without connynge & scyence: For a wyse man wolde take payne to gete ꝓ leest sauoure of ꝓ relykes of wysdome & certaynly I dare well say what so euer any man sayth ꝓ there is noo ne treasoure semblable to ꝓ treasoure of vnderstondynge wherfore ye champyons of sapyence yf ye wyl doo ony labour or payne I counsayle you ꝓ ye laboure to gete scyence for & ye haue it ye shal it well ꝓ be noble ye be ryche ye be al parfyte & this is playnly shewed in ꝓ doctryne of philosophres whiche sheweth & techeth ꝓ way to come by wysdome to ꝓ treasoure of pure & parfyte ful pesaūce: ¶ Ꝑ prudent philosophre ꝓ was called Thales had suche a desyre to taste of ꝓ grete goodnes of sapyence & loued it so wel not withstondynge ꝓ he was sore ꝓ he coude not fynde ꝓ meanes to come therto but by grete labour ꝓ he had in ꝓ nyght & ꝓ was this he drewe water al ꝓ nyght whiche was necessary to ꝓ vse of ꝓ scolers & so by ꝓ meane he gate his lyuynge and in ꝓ day he entended to his study & to ꝓ lessons of Crysippus whiche was a solempne philosophre to ꝓ entente ꝓ he myght be fulfylled of ꝓ connynge of this wyse mā & by ꝓ techynge & longe conuersaunce became ryght a souereyne man wherfore me semeth truely ꝓ this man was worthy to haue grete laude as well for ꝓ constaunce of his labour as for ꝓ grete scyence ꝓ he gate wherfore Ouyde sayth in a pystle ꝓ Thales by his grete labour helpe hymselfe to come to ꝓ perfeccyon of scyence ¶ Set to ꝓ purpose to loue scyence & to be

dylygent to lerne it for ꝑ grete goodnes ꝑ may fal to hym ꝑ lyst to labour therfore/we wyl speke a lytell of other phyloſophres for to ſharpen ꝑ appetyte of them ꝑ ſtudy for to lerne. The phyloſophre ꝓlaton loued ſo moche ſcyence ꝑ thrughe ꝑ dylygence ꝑ he made for to gete it, he fylled hymſelfe with wyldome & doctryne. This ꝓlaton was mayſter to Arystotle & was in ꝑ tyme of Socrates ꝑ phyloſophre/& he prokyted ſo gretely in doctryne ꝑ for the nobleſſe of his wytte was counted ꝑ wyſeſt mā lyuynge/& that he loued ſcyence he ſhewed it well/for he went al aboute to ſerche out all ꝑ doctryne of bokes namely in ytaly wherfore valere ſpeketh of his grete dylygēce & deſyre ꝑ he had to knowe & vnderſtonde/ ꝑ the grete thought ꝑ he toke for to gete bokes togyder was for nothynge elles but ꝑ ſcyence & cōyn ge myght be caſt a brode by hym thrughe all ꝑ worlde. This ſolempne phyloſophre dyed in ꝑ age of.lxxx.& viii.yeres/& it happened well at his dethe ꝑ grete loue ꝑ he had to all maner of bokes for they fōūde lyenge by hym ꝑ bokes of a woman ꝑ was a poete whiche was named Saphos/& wrote of loue in pleaſaūte & goodly verſes/as Horace ſaythe/ & paraduenture he loked vpon them for takynge of his pleaſure in his pleſaunt ſayenges. ¶ And yet there is conteyned in ꝑ boke of Valere of ꝑ phyloſophre Democratus whiche was a famous mā in naturall phyloſophy/& as Arystotle telleth in ꝑ fyrſt boke of generacyō & of corrupcyon & chargeth of al thynges/ꝑ is to ſaye he wolde gyue cōmendacyō to ꝑ ſayynge of Democratus/& therfore Arystotle cōmendeth hym gretly in dyuers places for his naturall phyloſophy & alowed gretly his opynyons. Alſo valere cōmendeth moche the ſayd phyloſophre for bycauſe he diſpraiſed ryches gretely whiche often tymes hath done many men moche hurte & lettynge in getyng of phyloſophy/& ſayth ꝑ this democratus myght haue gretly haboūded in ryches if he had wolde for his fader was ſo paſſyngly ryche ꝑ he fed al ꝑ hoſte of kyn-

ge zeres/ yet notwtstōdynge al ꝑ ryches he drawe hym to study
& whē ꝑ goodes fell to hym he dystrybued thē to his frendes &
to ꝑ poore people & vnethes lefte hȳselfe ony thynge to lyue vpō
Secondly valere cōmendeth hym in as moche as he neuer de-
syred worldely honours whiche empeslheth gretely to cōquere
sapyence/ & as he dwelled longe in Athenes he employed all his
tyme in exercysyse of doctryne & lyued there longe tyme vnkno
wen in ꝑ sayd cyte lyke as hymselfe wytnesseth in one of his vo
lumes/ for he chase to lyue soletarily for to be out of noyse & stry
fe whiche letteth gretly speculacyō/ then it appered ꝑ he had gre
te desyre of cōnynge for he eschewed to his power al maner thȳ
ges ꝑ myght let hym fro ꝑ getynge of scyence. ¶ yet to ꝑ same
purpose ꝑ men sholde loue scyence & study valere speketh of ꝑ
philosophre Carneades sayinge ꝑ he was ꝑ very knyght ꝑ la
boured scyēce/ for. lxxx. yeres he lyued in philosophy/ & he was
meruaylously cōioyned to ꝑ werkes of doctryne ꝑ it semed ofte
ten tymes as he sat at mete ꝑ he toke his refeccyō in studyen
ge of doctryne/ so ꝑ Diogenes his seruaūt was fayne often ty-
mes to take hȳ by ꝑ hōde & put it to his mete seynge ꝑ grete stu
dy ꝑ he was ī/ this sayd philosophre set by no thyng in ꝑ worl
de but onely by vertue. Of many other philosophres & shewers
of wysdome a mā myght speke of/ but for shortyng of this mat
ter I wyl passe ouer/ & these maters here tofore I haue brought
to myndе to ꝑ entente ꝑ I may reduce & brynge to knowlege of
ꝑ good studyētes suche as desyre to lerne scyēce & vertue/ for it
is no doubte but ꝑ scyences make a mā to be gracyous & well
gouerned but yf it be suche one as is vndyscrete & weneth hȳ-
selfe ꝑ he knoweth al scyences/ but in thēselfe they shewe it not
but teche it to other/ & suche maner of mē as techeth sapyence &
do nothynge thēselfe of ꝑ same/ ben lykened to suche as dye for
hōger & they⁹ good lyenge by thē/ & other men helpe thēselfe wt
ꝑ good/ & suche mē be more blame worthy whē they do amysse
than other.

¶ yet of the same.

For bycause ꝑ this layre mater is ryght conuenable to be
knowen/ also ꝑ euery mā hath not ꝑ boke of valere for
to gader out to they⁹ pleasaunce al ꝑ matters ꝑ he spedeth of/ it
lyketh me yet to speke of ꝑ good purpose ꝑ longeth to studyēge
bycause ꝑ I haue sayd here to fore ꝑ ꝑ studyentes ought to do
grete diligēce in ꝑ getynge of scyēce/ as valere recyteth & she⁹
eth how ꝑ dyligēce wel marked wolde to grete excelle shal bryn
ge a mā in grete excercyse of cōynge & allygneth ꝑ cause why
he sayth so. Scenola whiche was an excellent legyster at Ro-
me cōposed certayne lawes whiche other legysters vseth yet/ &
after his grete occupacyō & study wolde take recreacyō of dy-
uers playes/ & ꝑ a mā sholde so do/ valere shewyth ꝑ it is reall
& sayth ꝑ ꝑ nature of thynges wyl not suffre a mā cōtynually
to be in labour/ ꝑ is to say he must nedes at some tyme haue rest
in ydelnes/ but this ydelnes sholde not be ꝑ a man sholde scale
fro al bodely labours / but it is to vnderstode ꝑ a mā sholde be
occupyed in some ioyful dysporte by ꝑ whiche his vnderstō-
dynge may be ꝑ fresshed/ for by longe studyenge al ꝑ sensyble
vertues of mā be made wery & dull/ & also they be not brought
agayne to they⁹ rest & trāquylyte by sealynge all maner werk-
kes/ for they ꝑ be trauayled in study ꝑ they be not occupyed vp
some gladnes they sholde be full of malancoly for ꝑ spyryte wh
che hath ben in so grete labours of study before/ & yf they go to
bed so they shall suffre payne in they⁹ slepe as in dremynge &
other wyse/ & therfore ꝑ remedy of ꝑ trauayle is / for to recoyce
his spyryte vp some goodly play & dysporte/ & in lyke wyse as ꝑ
pleasaunt metes pleasle more at some tyme when they be entre
medled vp grete metes/ lyke wyse ꝑ werke of study is ꝑ better
nourysshed wh̄ a man at some tyme applyed hymselfe to play
& dysporte/ & therfore Catō sayth/ entremedle thy werkes amō
ge vp dysported/ also Aristotle sayth in ꝑ .vii. boke of Ethyques
A man in his latter our sholde vse vertuously as well play as la
bour/ to whiche thynge somer accordeth/ in his boke of trāquyl

of courage/ ¶ sayth he ꝑ the body ꝛ well bestynge kepes be soone hurte by cõtynuel fertylyte/ wout they be otherwhyle refresshed/ lyke wyse cõtynuel labour in any lyence hurteth ꝑ courage of any persone ꝛ engendreth frenesy/ ¶ therfore nature gyueth men inclynacyon of dysporte ꝛ play other whyles/ ¶ for ꝑ cause also they ꝑ stablysshed ꝑ lawes in olde tyme ordeyned certayne festes to ꝑ entente ꝑ all maner of people shulde assemble for to dysporte ꝛ playe ꝛ leue their labour/ ¶ to this purpose is sayd of Socrates/ whyche no parte of scyẽce was hyd from ꝑ he was not ashamed whan he was mocked of schyppyades for bycause ꝑ he founde hym playenge wt lytell chyldren/ but he dyde so for bycause ꝑ the recreacyõ whyche he had amõge thẽ shulde chase ꝛ refresshe his wyt ꝛ make it more quycke to ꝑ study/ ¶ for that cause as olde as he was he lerned to play on the harpe. 2

¶ Of the seconde estate of the people that is to knowe of bourgeyses and of marchauntes. Capitulo. l. lii.

¶ Haue sayd here before ꝑ the seconde estate of ꝑ people be ꝑ bourgeyses ꝛ the marchauntes of cytees. ¶ The bourgeyses ben they ꝑ be of ꝑ auncyent kynredes in cytees/ ¶ they haue a propre sure name ꝛ auncyent armes/ ¶ they be ꝑ prynceypall dwellers ꝛ inhabytauntes in ꝑ cytees ꝛ townes ꝛ of enheritaunce in howsynge in maners ꝛ possessyons/ wherupon they lyue honestly ꝛ worshypfully/ ¶ as ꝑ bokes maketh mencyon ꝑ speketh to thẽ calleth them cytezyns/ ¶ suche maner of people ought to be honourable/ wyse/ ꝛ of fayre porte clothed in honest aray wout dysguysynge or nycete/ ¶ it longeth to them to be good ꝛ true/ ¶ also of greke sayth ꝛ discrete language/ ¶ ꝑ state of cytezyns is ryght fayre ꝛ honourable for in some places they ben called ꝑ auncyent lygnages whã they haue kepte of longe tyme their estate worshypfully/ ¶ therfore in all places

euery man ought to prayse & commende the good bourgeyses &
Cytezyns of euery towne & cyte: yet it is a fayre thynge & a
worshypfull when there is a notable bourgeys in a cyte & gre
at worshyp to ꝑ countre & grete rychesse to ꝑ prynce. Thes peo-
ple sholde entremete of the gouernaunce of Cytees & to se what
longeth to the marchauntes and to ꝑ comon people so that eue-
ry thynge myght be well ruled and gouerned to theyr profyte
& for bycause that ꝑ prayse people haue not comonly grete pru-
dence in wordes me also in dede/that toucheth polycye/ whiche
they ought not to medle as of suche thynges ꝑ ben stablysshe-
ed by the prynces. The burgeyses therfore ought to take good
hede ꝑ for ony thynge ꝑ is made / the poore people be not hurte
nor ꝑ they haue cause to make ony euyll conspyracyon ayenste
theyr prynce or his counsayle / & this is ꝑ cause why: for suche
conspyracyons & ymagynacyons of comon it tourneth all day
to the prejudyce of them ꝑ haue good for to leese. For it was ne-
uer other nor neuer shall be / but ꝑ ende therof shall be euyll &
full of prejudyce / wherfore they ought & ony suche case tall as
ony tyme ꝑ the comons fele theselfe greued by ony grete char
ge. The wyse burgeyses sholde assemble themselfe togyder su
che as be wyse & discrete bothe in wordes & dede & go to ꝑ prya
ces or to ꝑ counsayle & there make theyr supplycacyon with all
humylyte & shewe theyr matter debonayrely to ꝑ entente that
the comon people be not hurte / For it is the dystruccyon of ci-
tees / of townes / & londes & therfore they sholde appeale ꝑ mur
muracyons of ꝑ people as ferfore as they myght for ꝑ grete
hurtes & myscheues ꝑ maye fall therof by many meanes. For
they that ben grete stonde moost in daunger / & thoughe so be ꝑ
at some tyme they seme ꝑ ordynaunces of ꝑ prynce & of his coun
sayle be not duely made in some thynges / yet the wyse men ou
ght not to construe it to ꝑ worste entente but thynke ꝑ they ha
ue it of good entente ꝑ they haue done. For the causes be not ap-

nent to euery man/ & also there may be peryll in murmuryng
of the people. ¶ Valere sayth ꝑ the wordes of Socrates ꝑ wor-
shypfull philosophre were ryght noble & good when he sayd it
was a grete wysdome for a man to holde his peas. For on a ty-
me he was in a place where were many men that spake of the
ordynaunce of prynces and spake shrewdely therof/ soo one of
these euyll speters came to Socrates and asked hym why he
spake noo worde & all other men sayd they: aduyse/ he answe-
red them agayne & sayd. I holde my peas quod he for bycause
that I haue spoken suche wordes at some tyme that I haue re-
pented after/ but I was neuer shente for holdynge my peas. ¶
Therfore it is ryght a good thynge for a mā to holde his peas
& speke no suche wordes as harme may come of and no profyte
is by ꝑ a man may knowe a wyse man/ & therfore Caton sayth
ꝑ fyrst vertue is to kepe well his tongue for he is nyghe to god
ꝑ in way of reason can holde his tongue. And Senec sayth in
the fyrst boke of ꝑ last proole/ who that wyll be one of the dyse-
ples of Pytagoras must kepe his tongue. v. yere. For he sayd
vnto them that they must fyrst lerne a thynge or they spake it
and whether it were necessary to be spoken or not. ¢ ¢ ¢ ¢ ¢ ¢

¶ Howe the wyse burgeyses sholde counsayle the symple peo
ple in that they sholde do. Capitulo. lvii.

¶ As it is sayd before ꝑ wyse men sholde teche ꝑ sym
ple & ygnorannt people to holde they: peas & speke not
of suche thynges ꝑ longeth not to thē to speke of/ for there may
gret peryl fal therof & no profyte/ & this is wytnessed i ꝑ boke of
Exodi in ꝑ .xii. chapitre sayng ꝑ ꝑ lawe defendeth suche mur
muracyō & byddeth ꝑ no mā sholde murmure ayenst ꝑ grete
lordes/ & they sholde not curse ꝑ prynces of ꝑ people/ & Salomō
confermeth the same in the booke called Eccliastes in the .x.

chapytre and sayth betray not the kynge in thy trouthe / ꝑ is to say ꝑ subiecte sholde make no cõspyracyon ayenst his lorde ¶ And also that is grete peryll to murmure or to withstonde the ordynaunce of pryncesse / Iustyne sayethe in the .xii. booke of Alysaundre for the grete victoryes ꝑ he had whan he had won the lordeshyp of Perce he thought than that he wolde be worshypped after ꝑ maner of the countre whiche was a maner of worshyppynge / as we myght say a mã to knele downe on his knees when he spake to his souerayne whiche was not customed in Macedóne ne in other regiõs at ꝑ tyme / but for bycause ꝑ men murmured also that cast ylenes ꝑ phylosophre whiche Aristotle had cõmytted to Alysaundre for as moche as he myght no lenger endure the labour that he had for to folowe hym aboute reproued Alysaũdre ryght egrely for the same / for whyche thynge Alysaundre made hym to be slayne / It is to knowe Valere sayth when Aristotle left Alysaundre he set to wayte vpon hym in his stede this noble Phylosophre Cast ylenes whyche was his dyscyple and was ryght a wyse man / neuertheles Aristotle taught this sayd Cast ylenes that he sholde neuer spekeof vyces of pryncesbehynde they backe for he tolde hym it sholde not be doone for two thynges / One is that it longeth not to a subiecte to laye shame of his lorde / The other is that as soone as the wordes ben passed out of his mouthe ꝑ flatterers ben redy anone to reporte them vnto the souerayne. And yet he warned hym that he sholde speke but lytell to Alysaundre and yet before or he spake he sholde vnderstonde that he were somewhat mery / too that entente that his language sholde not tourne hym to noo peryll / nor also he sholde not flatter hym / but the wordes that he sayd myght be acceptable. But this dyscyple helde not well the doctryne of his mayster wherfore he repented it afterwarde. ¶ Set to the same pũpose that a man sholde not stryue ayenst the ordynaunce of ꝑ pryn-

And to the purpose also of the phylosophre that Alysaundre lete slee for bycause that he agayne layd his ordynaunce. Valere sayth and telleth of the phylosophre of Gades what he layd to them of Athenes. For when Alysaundre wolde be worshypped as it is layd here tofore/ he sente vnto them of Athenes and layd that he wolde in ony wyse be soo worshypped/ Than the Athenyences whiche were accustomed more than other people to kepe sermounes & ryghtwyse ordynaunces assembled theyr counsayle to knowe what they myght best do therin/ So the comon oppynyon of them was that they wolde not dohym that worshyp whiche longed not but onely to goddes/ Then thys wyse phylosophre of Gades/ the whiche knewe well ynoughe what myght falle for the dyshobeysaunce of prynces/ sayd vnto them/ nowe syrs quod he kepe you well that ye medle not soo ferre with the heuynes that ye shall loose the erthe. ¶ These thynges layd here tofore maye tourne too ensamples in some londes/ but thanked be god we haue no cruell prynces in Fraunce/ nor hatefull ayenst theyr people. For of all ỹ nacyons in the worlde I dare well saye without ony flatterynge/ and trewe it is/ that there be none so naturall ne so benygne as they ben in Fraunce/ wherfore they ought more lowely to be obeyed/ and thoughe at some tyme peraduenture the people seme that they be forer charged than other Royalmes and Londes/ and that other londes ben lesse greued than Fraunce. And lette vs suppose that it maye be so by reason in some thynges as by meanes of theyr fraunchyse/ yet by other customes and seruages/ whiche be more pretudycyable as grete crueltees that ben done vnto theym/ or elles that they slee and murdre eche other for lacke of Justyce and many other straunge meanes whiche were to longe for to tell/ and what so euer ony man saye/ saynge the grace of theym that wolde withsaye this/ for ony thynge that men complayne on in Fraunce/ I holde oppynyon that of

all the londes in crystendome it is it where best is to dwell in/ as well for the begynnynge of prynces without cruelte/as for the courteysy/and the louyngnesse of the people of the same nacyon. ¶ And yet I saye not thus for bycause that I was borne therin. But as god helpe me at the daye of dome I saye as I thynke/for I haue enquered moche of the gouernaunce of other londes. And also I wote well this erthe is not paradyse For I wyll that euery man knowe/that in all royalmes ben trybulacyons ynowe. ¶ And of these cruell prynces in tymes paste I wyll speke of. And namely of the newest/for I maye fynde ynowe. But for bycause that I maye not tourne too noo good ensample I wyll the more lyghtly passe ouer/But for as moche as we haue treated of the grete charges of people doune by lordes. There was a meruaylous and a false and vntrewe cautell founde by Denys the tyraunte/for to haue good of his people. ¶ For as this Denys tyraunte was dyscomfyted in a batayle wente and aduysed hym by grete malyce and slyghte howe he myght recouer agayne that he had lost and spended he made crye a noyse ouer all amonge his people/and made them to byleue that ỳ cause of his dyscomfyture was for his synne/ where as he hadde made a bowe to Venus for to haue sought her and was not fulfylled. And this was his a bowe yf so were that she wolde helpe hym in a batayle for to haue the victory of his enemyes that the daye of lempryte of her feest all the ladyes and byrgynes of the londe to honoure and worshyp of ỳ same goddes sholde that daye do all ỳ pleasure that ony man wolde requyre them. And for bycause that he had not accomplysshed his a bowe after the victory of the batayle that he had wonne. Therfore the goddesse Venus for the frawde and vntruthe that he hadde done vnto her in brekynge of his a bowe was ayenst hym at the laste batayle/whiche caused hym to be dyscomfyted and ouercome. And to accomplysshe and satysfy

the goddes of his a vowe. He made ordeyne that all the ladyes and maydens at the day of solempnyte of her feest shold aray themselfe in the most ryches garmentes that they myght gete with all the Jewelles that they hadde. And who that hadde noo Jewelles of they owne they shold borowe. And whanne they were thus arayed they shold goo streyght to the temple. And frome thens they shold be brought vnto a common place. But euery man shold be made swere before that they shold not touche none of all the women in the waye of vylanye. ¶ And for bycause of this othe the folysshe mysbycuynge people without lawe of the londe byleued certaynely that all was trewe that the kynge had shewed theym wherfore euery man consented that they wyues & they doughters shold be brought to that place for they wente that the goddesse Venus wolde haue ben pcased and this thynge hadde ben thus done without empeyrynge the chastyte of they wyues and they doughters where vpon this was ordeyned lyke as is reherced here tofore. And soo all the ladyes wente in the best arayment that they myght gete to the temple. But Denys they kynge thoughte another manere thynge which dyssembled and fayned this thynge to be done for as moche as he durst sette no subtlety vpon theym he thought for to gete good by another meane. wherfore he lete ordayne a certayne people for to go to the temple and lete dyspoyle all ỳ ladyes and other women of all they rychesse. And they that were olde matrones and ryche compelle them by betynge and other duresse for to tell where they rychelles were and the treasours of they husbondes. ¶ Of this Denys that was kynge of Cesyle men may wel say ỳ he was an euyll prynce. But for bycause ỳ no man shold haue enuye to folowe they dedes it is to be knowen lyke as it falleth commonly ỳ the euyll lyfe draweth a man to euyll ende. For ỳ ende of hym was ryght nought for after ỳ he had done this cursed

dede with other moo / he was slayne bylaynously of his owne people / his sonne whiche succeded after hym / whose name also was called Denysel / was in his laste ende eyght vnhappy / for he was deposed of his lordeshyppe / and after that he wente too Corynthe / and there he was fayne to teche chyldren for his lyuynge. Thus the chylde suffred payne for the trespalle of hys fader / and other whyle it happeneth soo / for holy scrypture sayth / the faders eteth the bytter grape / and the chyldren haue y sorenesse in the tethe / And in lyke wyse it is wryten in other places / our faders synned and we sholde suffre theyr inyquytees ¶ Set to the purpose of cuyll prynces / whiche I praye god saue vs fro. There was a kynge in Egypte that was called Tholomeus Pheton. And amonge all other vyces he was Lecherous and full of delycalye. ¶ And Valere sayth he was called Pheton / for as moche as an expolytoure sayethe that Pheton is as moche to saye / as encreasynge and augmentacyon of vyce. For by his Lechery he put vpon men dyuerse crymes / and made them haue an cuyll ende / for whiche cause he dyed a bylaynous dethe / and after his dethe in grete defame of his good name.

¶ Here it speketh of marchauntes. Capitulo. liiii.

As suche people as we haue spoken of here tofore / that ben named marchauntes / Whiche state of people is ryght necessary / and without that same / the state of kynges and prynces / and namely the polycye of Cytees / and of countrees myght not be without it / for by the meanes of theyr wysdome and laboure all maner of people ben puruayed of suche thynges / as is to them necessary / whiche is brought in by the marchaũtes out of ferre coũtrees yf they haue money Wherfore it was

a well founde thynge for to fynde amonge worldely thynges/ ſuche an inuencyon that people myght be laboured and put to dyuerſe offyces/ for and this were not/ euery man ſholde haue ynoughe to do for to gete his lyuynge without takynge hede of ony other ſcyence wherefore god and reaſon hathe wel puruayed! And for the good that they doo to euery man/ that maner ſtate of people/ that is to knowe/ ye true marchauntes in byenge and ſellynge for money/ or other maner of trewe meanes as by entrechaungynge one thynge for another/ ought gretely for to be commended as for a thynge that is ryght neceſſary and in many countrees they be moche ſet by! And there is not ſoo grete a Cytezyne in ſome Ryte but they medle them with marchaundyſe/ yet ben they neuer the leſſe ſette by/ nor called the more vnworſhypfull. Ryke as at Venyſe/ Jene/ and other places where moche rychelles is/ and myghty marchauntes whiche gothe thrughe euery londe too ſeche thynges of euery ſorte whiche they dyſperpule all aboute the worlde/ and thus is the worlde ſerued of al maner of dyuers thynges. And without ony fayle they that practyſe trewely in doynge theſe werkes/ I ſuppoſe that they doo ryght a meryto:yous offyce and is accepte of god/ and of the lawes premyſſe and approued! Theſe manere of people ought too be well aduyſed in they: dedes/ trewe in they: laboure/ and faythfull in they: mouthe/ too that entente that they maye by they: marchaundyſe at ſuche preyce that they looſe not in ſellynge agayne of the ſame/ And that they vnderſtonde wel alſo that there ben plente of ſuche ſtuffe as they wyll bye in the countree where he gothe to. And on the other ſyde that there be no plente in that countree that he wyll bitte his marchaundyſe in/ And without this ye feate of they: practyſe ſhall be as nought/ and fayle of they: purpoſe/ Alſo they ought too be trewe in they: laboure/ that is too ſaye/ they ought not vnder the payne of dampnacyon/ and ſhamefull pu

nyll vpon of they⁹ body make fayr⁹er they⁹ marchaūdyse by ony maner of sleyght for to make them shewe better than they be/ in deceyuynge of the people to that entente that they myght be ꝑ rather solde/for euery crafte is gretely rep⁹oued where frau de is in/and they⁹ that vse suche falshede ought not to be called marchauntes/but very falle and begylers of the people for the marchauntes ought to be trewe of they⁹ wo⁹de/and sourtayn ly of they⁹ p⁹omyses/wherfore in some countrees and places/ they be so acustome to holde and kepe trouthe that a symple p⁹o myse o⁹ a wo⁹de of a marchaunt shall be trusted as moche and taken for as grete a suretye as in other places mennes obly gacyons/and these people rather than they sholde be founde vn trewe of they⁹ p⁹omyses/had leuer suffre grete hurte than fay le ony thynge of they⁹ couenauntes the whiche thynge is fayr⁹e and good and a wo⁹shypfull custome. And yt it pleased god I wolde that our marchauntes of ffraunce and in all other lon⁹ des wolde do in lyke wyse/and thoughe so be that there be so⁹ me whyche do not all well/yet I tryst to god there be many that be good and trewe/ryche/honourable/and faythefull in they⁹ p⁹omyse/and suche I p⁹aye almyghty god saue and mayntey ne in they⁹ goodnes ffor it is a grete goodnes to a countre and grete rychesse to a p⁹yncesse namely to the comon welthe whan a towne is substancyally grounded in marchaundyse and ma ny marchauntes dwellynge therin. Wherfore these Cytees ꝑ ben set vpon the grete ryuers be comonly ryche and full of peo ple/for bycause of the grete marchaundyses ꝑ be b⁹ought thy⁹ der out of ferre countrees by the see. Also these sayd marchaū tes ought to be of honest & clene lyfe without ony pompe o⁹ p⁹y de & serue god in courage & dr⁹edeles to gyue fayr⁹e almes of the goodes ꝑ god hathe sente them/lyke as men may fynde of ma ny dyuers that haue gyuen the.x. parte of they⁹ wynnynge/& some ꝑ haue founded many chapelles/and dyuerse places of

prayers hospytalles for poore people. And yet there be suche þ
by the grace of god for theyr good merytes deserue to be reward
ded in heuen and worshypped in this worlde. ꝟ ꝟ ꝟ ꝟ ꝟ

Of the thyrde estate of the people. Capitulo. lv.

Here folowerh the thyrde estate of þ people whi-
che ben the men of crafte and the labourers of
the erthe that we take for the laste partye of the
body of polycye whiche is lykened to þ legges/
& the feete And of the feete Vulcarque spekerh
yet and that they sholde be soo soueraynely taken hede too and
kepe them so well that they be not hurte in no maner of wyse.
For the hurte of theym maye hurte the body ryght perylously
wherfore the body hathe the more nede too take hede therto for
hurtynge of hymselfe/ for they sease not to labour by the erthe
that is to vnderstonde for the dyuerse labores þ men of cra-
te vseth and doo whiche ben necessary to the body of man/ and
may in no wyse be without them Lyke as mannes body maye
not passe but that he sholde go lewdely and he had lost his fete
but treynynge on his hondes with grete payne & on his body
also. In lyke wyse he sayth it is of the comon thynges for put
away the labourers and them that vse the craftes and it may
not be susteyned but all shall fall. For the office of men of craf-
te whiche clarkes calleth artyficers that some men sette lytell
by/ yet it is a fayre thynge and a good/ and ryght necessarye/
as it is sayd before. And amonge all other thynges that ben it
ought moost to be alowed for bycause that amonge al worlde-
ly thynges it is the thynge that appocheth nerte þ scyences/ for
they put in vre þ the scyences haue shewed before as Aristotle
sayth in his Methaphysyke/ for he telleth þ theyr werkes ben
the effecte of scyences/ lyke as geometry whiche is the scyence

of measures & of proporcyons without whiche no crafte maye
passe/and soo of other. And thus wytnesseth an oppositoure wh
the sayethe that they of Athenes wolde haue made a meruayl-
lous auctoure too the goddesse of Sapyence/ that was called
Mynerue. And for bycause they wolde make it notably and
of curyous entayle they toke counsayle of the mooste excellente
maysters/soo they wente to Platon as for the mooste soueray-
ne Philosophre at that tyme in all scyences. But he sente them
agayne to one that was called Euclydes as for the mooste soue
rayne mayster in the crafte of measures. For he composed geo
metry/the whiche is redde euery daye in the generall studyes
and by this a man maye knowe that the craftes foloweth scy-
ences as for masouns/carpenters/and all other of what crafte
that euer they be of worketh after the techynge of scyence and
to the worshyppe of arte/ It is to knowe Galere sayethe that ar
te wyll folowe nature as whan a werkeman counterfayteth
properly a thynge that nature hathe made/ Lyke as a paynter
that shall be soo connynge a man in his crafte that he wyll ma
ke a fygure soo lyke a man that euery man maye knowe the
man by ỳ same fygure. Also they wyl make a byrde or another
beest ỳ euery mā maye well knowe it is lyke vnto another. In
lyke wyse a Caruer of ymages wyll doo the same/ and thus of
all other craftes. And therfore some saye that arte is lykened
to an Ape in nature. For lyke as an Ape counterfayteth many
dyuers maners of man/soo arte foloweth grete plentye of the
werkes of nature. Neuertheles he sayethe after warde that ar
te may not folowe nature in all thynges. Also we sholde prayse
euery subtyll man in his crafte and byleue hym for bycause of
the grete experyence that he hathe in ỳ same. For it is no doub
te that there is noo man so properly maye speke of a thynge as
he that knoweth it. And amonge these men of crafte/ there ben
many subtyltees lerned and more commonly amonge them than

amonge other people/whiche is ryght notable and layre. But
for to spese nowe of theyr maneres and condycyons I wolde
it pleased god that theyr maner of lyuynge myght be suche as
god wolde be pleased wyth: For our lorde wolde that theyr lyfe
sholde be comonly sobre/ and not more delycate than longeth vn
to them whiche maye cause them to leue theyr labour: For the
lechery of tauernes and the pleasaunces that ben vsed at Pa-
rys maye bryng them to many inconuenyences and myche-
ues. ¶ And of the voluptuous lyfe of suche people and other ly
ke to them Cryst otle speketh and sayth that moche people seme
to be as beestes for bycause they chose lechery before al other de
lytes/ and of this false opynyon speketh holy scrypture in the se
conde chapytre of the boke of Sapyence/ and sayth that the ty
me of our lyfe is shorte and full of grete anuye and in the ende
we haue no reste wherfore these foule glottons in lechery saye
we wyll vse our yonge lyfe in folowynge of our lustes/ and we
wyll fyll our belyes with wynes and metes/ and we wyll she-
we ouer all the traces of our gladnesse/ and without fayle suche
folysshe and vayne wordes men may often tymes here not one
ly of the symple people/ but as well of other people that for by-
cause of theyr estate be holden for wyse men. Therfore the co-
mon people for bycause that they be not for the moost party ler-
ned in holy scrypture/ they sholde folowe the predycacyons and
the wordes of god shewed by worthy doctours and noble clar-
kes/ whiche ben profytable to all crysten people. ¶ Also Iuuy
ne recyteth in the .xi. boke de Trogue Pompee/ that in the cy
te of Craton wherin were paynymes and mysbeleuantes Pyc
togoras the Phylosophre whiche was a paynyme withdrewe
them from theyr euyll lyuynge by his exhortacyons. For where
as the people were vycyously dysposed to Glotonyse/ to vyces/ &
to Lechery/ by ỹ introducyon of Pytogoras they were brou-
ght agayne to contynence and to clene lyuynge. This phylo

ore blamed gretely the vyce of Lechery/and shewed howe by
that vyce dyuers Cytees were fellen in to ruyne/he taught ȳ
ladyes and other men to lyue chastely/and that they sholde be
lowe in they⁹ mutes & dr⁹ynkes. And the sayd ꝑytogo⁹as dyde
so moche by his wyse amonycyons that the ladyes lefte they⁹
nyce arayes. And the men to leue they⁹ glotonyes/for as lon-
ge as he was amonge them and that was the space of twenty
y⁹re they contynewed in good lyuynge by the good meanes of
his techynge/and this good dede Iustyne sayethe of hym. For
in the towne of Methapontus/whiche is in ꝑuyle/where as
ꝑytogo⁹as was borne the people hadde hym in so grete reue-
rence that of the house where he dyed in/they made a temple &
wo⁹shypped the sayd ꝑytogo⁹as as a god/soo it were greate
nede to haue suche a man nowe a dayes in many places with
that there were people that wolde worke after his counsayle.

¶ Of symple labourers. Capitule. lvi.

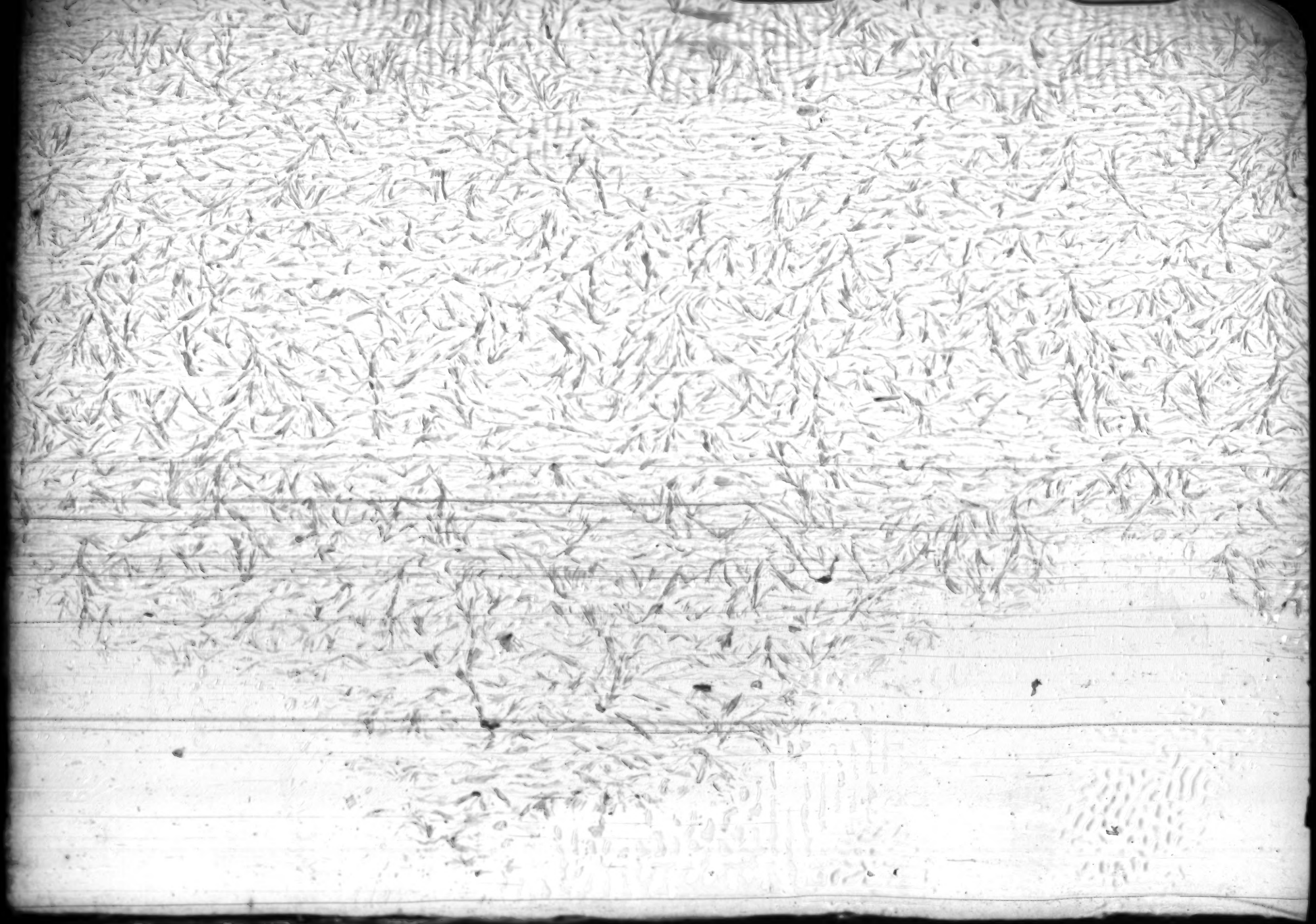
Of the state of symple labourers of the Erthe/and
what shall I saye of them/for bycause that ma-
ny men dyspayle and greueth theym some/and
yet be they of the states before reherced moost ne-
cessary and namely suche as be tyllers of the er-
the/wherby euery creature lyuynge is nourysshed bothe/and
fedde/and without the same this deedly worlde sholde fayle in
ryght shortetyme/and certaynly they that do them so moche
harme take noo hede wherof they serue/For who taketh hede
therto euery reasonable creature is bounde to them/and therfo
re it is ryght that ony man sholde be vnkynde to them seyuge ȳ
notable seruyce that they do to euery creature/& certaynly the-
se may well be called the feete that sustayne the body of ꝑolycy
for by ⁊ bey⁹ labour they sustayne ȳ body of euery persone/wher

fore suche maner of people ought not too be dysprayed ✠ that this offyce is acceptable to god ✠ fyrst it appereth for bycause ꝑ two of the fyrst heedes of ꝑ worlde of whome al maner of lygnages ben dyscended they were labourers of the erthe/ ✠ the fyrst heede was Adam the fyrst fader of whome is wryten in the secondꝭ chappytre of Genesis/howe our lorde toke ꝑ fyrste man ✠ put hym in paradyse of delyces for to worke ✠ tyll ✠ kepe/ and out of this scrypture a man maye drawe two maner of argumentes for to preue the honeste of labourc. The fyrst is for bycause our lorde ordeyned it hymselfe and it was the fyrste of all craftes. And the seconde is this/for bycause it was made in ꝑ state of innocencye. The seconde heede of the worlde was Noe of whome after the deluge is dyscended all the worlde/ and of hym is wryten in Genesis in the .ix. chappytre/ that Noe whyche was a labourynge mā after ꝑ grete flodde toke hym to labourc the erthe and planted a vyne/ and in lyke wyse of our other faders as auncyente Patryarkes whyche were erthetyllers/ and kepers of beestes/ wherof at this tyme I reade the storyes/ for bycause of shortenes of tyme not withstandynge in olde tyme it was no foule offyce but an offyce gretely prayed/ ✠ Florus telleth in the story of the Romaynes how Dyocleſyan the Emperoure of Rome after that he had goten many victoryes and bataylles of his owne propre wyll/ he wente and endyd his lyfe in a vyllage that was named Salon/ and his occupacyon was onely in labourynge of the Erthe. And longe tyme after as the lordeshyppe of Rome felle in grete defaute for lacke of good gouernaunce of soo worthy a man as he was. They sente vnto hym Lentulyus and Valeryus/ beseechynge hym that he wolde retourne agayne vnto Rome and too take vpon hym the gouernaunce of the Empyre. To whome he answerd ✠ sayd. Ha quod he yf ye had sene the fayre wortes that I haue planted with myne honde ye wolde not requyre me to re-

tourne agayne to the Empyre. And this is as moche to say as that he was more appeased in his conscyence in that poore offyce and better toke hyt a worthe / than for too haue the charge of soo grete and so perylous a thynge as the gouernaunce of the Empyre. ¶ And to this purpose Valere sayth in his fourth boke in the thyrde chapytre of Tarquinius the ryght worshypfull and noble Romayne that was taken frome the labourage to be made Emperoure / and as he wente at the ploughe in the feide / the knyghtes founde hym and made hym chefe conduyteure and rewler of all the Romayne hoost. And he whiche had his hondes all harde for holdynge of the ploughe after that he lefte the gouernaunce of the hoostes of Rome estably shed by his noble courage and with his hondes the comon welthe whiche was fallen in grete myschyefe before his comynge / wherfore Valere sayth / the hondes that gouerned the coupled oxen at the ploughe toke vpō them for to gouerne the ploughe of bataylles. And after þ he had gotē many grete victoryes he was not alhamed to leue the dygnyte of the Emperoure and retourne agayne to the same laboure whiche he came from before. ¶ By this sayenge maye a man vnderstonde that the state of symple labourers or other of symple estate ought not to be dyspraysed as some wyll sayr / when soo worshypfull men as they were wolde chese for they? last rest soo poore a lyfe and so symple estate / þ for the moost sure bothe for the body & soule / for they haue sure rychesse that ben wylfull poore / for they be not afferde of no treasons / emprysonynges nor robbynges / ne to be gretely enuyed / and they? rychesse is suffysyente / for there is no man ryche without suffysyent / and also therein is some other rychesse. ¶ And for the affyrmacyon of this thynge I maye call to purpose that Valere sayth of a ryche man in suffysyaunce as is declared in a story. There was a kynge he sayth in Lydde that was named Gyges / he helde hymselfe emyghty and so

grete that he wente to the god Appolo to aske hym whether there was ony man more wyse than he was/ the god Appolo answered hym and sayd that Aganyus Sophydyus was more wyse than he. This Aganyus was the poorest man of all Arthadye and was ryght an aged man/ and yet he passed neuer his lyfe ii. fedde/ but he was contente with lytell fruytes/ wherby he lyued. Thus maye a man se howe Appolo toke pouerte for suffysaunce/ and not ryches/ for as moche also as in ryches maye be no suffysaunt restfyne sureté/ but grete hertes full of feere and trouble. And thus the kynge Gyges whiche hente that the god sholde haue affermed þ there was none so wyse as he was/ happened to be deceyued of his vayne opynyon and lerned by Appolo where was ferme ryches and blessyd ioyncelle. ¶ This selycyte that is as moche to saye as suffysaunce. Anaxagoras/ and also Tholomee prouyth in the prologue of the almageste where he sayth/ he is wyse that careth neuer in whole hondes the worlde be. And to proue that this sentence is trewe/ lyke as all the wyse men/ the poetes/ and namely they that haue tholen the clene and pure lyfe of perfectyon take pouerte for their grete sureté. For though he so be that in all states a man maye be saued/ yet it is an harde thynge too passe throughe the flambes of fyre without brennynge. For it is noo doubte that in the state of pouerte whiche euery man dyspraysyth ben many good and solempne parsones in clennesse of lyfe.)))

ys to knowe of the polycye whiche is vnderstonde by the pryn
ces to whome I moost humbly requyre and fynde to the chefe
of all the moost noble kynge of Fraunce / And afterwarde the
pryncis and all other of his royall blode / that the dylygent
labour of wrytynge of theyr humble creature Ihones as well
in this presente dede as in her other dedes suche as they be or
may be that it myght be to them agreable. And yf so happen
that by ygnoraunce as a woman of lytell knowlege make fau
re in ony of these thynges before rehersed / that of theyr grace
she myght be pardoned. And that the entente of her good wyll
which entendeth not but to all goodnesse and to ye ende of her
werke may be pardoned. And yet I pray for a rewarde of them
that ben lyuynge and theyr noble successours the kynges and
other pryncis of Fraunce that for remembraunce of my sayen
ges in tyme to come whan the soule is out of my body to haue
me in mynde in theyr deuoute prayers / and deuoute orysons /
offred vp by them. That they wyll requyre of god for me to ha-
ue indulgence and remyssyon of my defaults. And in lyke wy
se I requyre knyghtes and noblemen and all other generally
of what parte that euer they be of / that herith or seeth these ly-
tell wrytynges that they wyll haue me in theyr memory. And
for my rewarde that it wolde lyke them to say a pater noster
And in the same wyse I desyre of all ye vniuersall people / whi
che thre estates and all in one / our lorde for his holy mercy wyll
mayntayne and encrease from better to better in al perfeccyon
of soule and body.

¶ Thus endeth the boke of the body of Polycye. Imprynted
at London without Newe gate in Saynt Sythers parysshe by
Iohn Skot. In the yere of our lorde. M.CCCCC.xxi. The
xviii. yere of the reygne of kynge Henry the. viii. The xvii. daye
of May.

The lorde is myght there
dayes and there ouer